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THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN:

FROM THE REVOLUTION IN 1688, TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE FIRST.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN MANUSCRIPT OF

ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, Esq.

MINISTER FROM GEORGE I. TO THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

To which is prefixed,

An INTRODUCTION, containing an Account of the Author and his Writings,

By WILLIAM THOMSON, LL. D.

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ERRATA.

Page 17, line 9. *for* Indoigne, *r.* Judoigne.
21. — 26. *for* marquis, *r.* mareſchal.
30. — 3. *for* garriſon, *r.* garriſons.
166. — 3. *for* Alos, *r.* Aloſt.
168. — laſt. *for* virtue, *r.* courage.
190. — 18. *for* lords, *r.* lord.
195. — 31. *for* mareſchal, *r.* marquis.
201. — 31. *for* proſcribe, *r.* preſcribe.
205. — 18. *for* Calari, *r.* Cagliari.
206. — 14. *after* emperor *inſert* and ; *and a* comma *after* Savoy.
223. — 32. *for* Pentchartrin, *r.* Pont Chartrin.
33. *for* countries, *r.* courtiers.
230. Contents of book xii. line 1. *for* 1710, *r.* 1709, *and ſo in the marginal note.*
242. — 22 *for* Bouille, *r.* Rouillè.
269. — 21. *for* 1748, *r.* 1648.
290. — 32. *for* obſervator, *r.* ſpectator.
307. — 6 *for* plalle, *r.* places.
311. — 6 *for* deſtined, *r.* deſired.
324. — 23. *for* forty thouſand, *r.* four thouſand.
357. — 16. *for* Weſt Indies, *r.* North America.
359. — 4. *after* embaſſy, a full ſtop, *and then inſert* Harley anſwered.
412. — 16. *for* overcome, *r.* relinquiſh.
420. — 23. *for* Evangeliſt John, *r.* one of the epiſtles of St. John.
434. — 32 *for* lord Macartney, *r.* general Macartney.
442. — 14. *dele* of.
445. — 15. *tranſpoſe the conjunctive particle,* utpote, *to its proper place between the words* ſumma, *and* ei.
446. — 7. *for* nominatas, *r.* nominatos.
451. — 5. *for* dilectantur, *r.* delectantur.
452. — 11. *between* potro *and* iis *inſert* ſicut.
21. *for* labe, *r.* latè.
453. — 9. *for* ſeipſi, *r.* ſeipſe.
455. — 30. *dele* nunc *before* titubantem.
457. — 7. *for* cæpiſſet, *r.* cepiſſet.
26. *for* levaque, *r.* lævaque ; *and for* Blangiæ, *r.* Blaugiæe
459. — 25. *for* retexant, *r.* retexunt.
33. *for* eaſdem, *r.* eoſdem.
464. — 10 and 16. *dele the* accent *on the prepoſition* cum.
465. — 5. *for* qui, *r.* quia.
466. — 5. *for* vindicaret, *r.* vindicarat.
24. *for* repræhendendi, *r.* reprehendendi.

In lord Belhaven's famous ſpeech in the Scotch parliament, as given in Latin by Mr. Cunningham, an ambiguity occurs, which it is proper to ſtate here to the learned reader: *Omne reipublicæ vulnus ſanari poteſt, ſalvo Imperio, &c.* It is certain that the grievances of Scotland were extreme, and that this circumſtance was the main argument for an union with England. Belhaven therefore, having this in his eye, may be ſuppoſed to have meant that the grievances of the nation, however great, might yet be redreſſed without ſubverting the government. But there may be another interpretation of this paſſage, "the grievances of the kingdom, however great, may yet be redreſſed, ſo long as it poſſeſſes within itſelf the ſpring and force of legiſlative authority; but when that is loſt all is loſt;" and ſo forth.

THE

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THE preparations that had been made for the opening of the campaign in the beginning of the Spring 1706 were ſo great, and the forces ſo numerous on both ſides, that the ſucceſs of either party depended greatly upon the favour of fortune. At this time the Netherlands were almoſt untouched; but all Italy was in

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April over-run by the French king's arms, after the battle of Caſſano, where two thouſand of the Germans were ſlain, and the reſt of them driven out of Italy. The confines of Germany were expoſed to daily depredations: the Portugueſe, who are naturally tardy in war, were particularly ſo at this time, on account of the ſickneſs of their king; for the French monarch had acquired great influence in that nation by his addreſs, and by his bounty.

In Spain a dreadful ſtorm ſeemed to threaten the people of Barcelona and king Charles, and in the ſame cloudy times there was an extraordinary eclipſe of the ſun, which filled the minds of the ignorant multitude with terrible apprehenſions. King Philip imploring the protection of the bleſſed virgin Mary, who is worſhipped in Spain with great devotion, drew all his forces in the winter from Portugal and the other provinces into the inner parts of Spain, in order, as he ſaid, to free his ſubjects from a foreign yoke.

The French king fitted out a fleet at Toulon, well furniſhed with all kinds of military ſtores, and ſent forces and proviſions from Provence by land and ſea into Spain. Early in the ſpring, therefore, the marſhal de Theſſe, having his proviſions and all military ſtores in readineſs, laid ſiege to Barcelona. The beſieged, about three thouſand regular ſoldiers, made an obſtinate defence; the reſt were country people, or citizens. At this time the earl of Peterborough, not depending upon the queen's favour, but confiding in his own good ſervices, made incurſions throughout the whole province of *Valencia*; and, as he would have every thing done according to his own directions, he ſeemed to order it ſo, that king Charles himſelf ſhould be but the governor of Barcelona during the ſiege, while he took upon himſelf the office of general in the field, in order to oppoſe the Condé de las Torres, whom king Philip had made the general of his little army in that quarter of the kingdom.

Barcelona beſieged by the French.

During theſe tranſactions in Spain, Sir John Leake, the Engliſh, and Waſſenaer, the Dutch admiral, fitted out their ſquadrons with all expedition at Liſbon, in order to free king Charles from the ſiege with a well provided fleet; and, as they had not ſufficient ſtores and proviſions

ſions at hand, the Portugueze ſupplied them with what they wanted out of their own magazines. As ſoon as the fleet was ready, it left the port; but Sir John Leake was forced to ſtruggle a long time with contrary winds, which delayed his courſe, and made his arrival impatiently expected by the people of Barcelona. In the mean time, king Charles bravely defended the city within. Such of the citizens as were inclined to mutiny, he reſtrained; others he relieved with his bounty. He animated the ſoldiers; encouraged the workmen by his own example; viewed the works every day; and performed all the offices both of a king and a general. The marſhal de Theſſe made himſelf maſter of ſome of the works on the outſide of the walls; and king Philip himſelf came at laſt to the camp. About that time monſieur Lapara, commander of the works, was killed by a muſket bullet. The beſiegers preſſed the town very cloſe, and endeavoured to undermine and overthrow the walls, and at laſt began to batter and ſhake them with one hundred cannon. The caſtle of Monjuich was taken by ſtorm. After this a part of the wall ſuddenly fell down, and three thouſand of the enemy advanced. By this unhappy accident ſome of the citizens were ſo terrified, as if it had been with a judgment from heaven, that, deſpairing of the ſafety of the city, they reſolved to run out at the gates; and others threw themſelves over the walls. King Charles ſet ſtrong guards at the gates, and went every day to the churches and altars to avert the wrath of God. The reſt of the citizens, moved by the king's exemplary piety, and even the prieſts, took up ſuch arms as they could find, and prepared every thing for a vigorous defence; and leſt the enemy ſhould attempt to force their way into the city through the breach, they threw up other works behind it, and made frequent ſallies out of the city in a moment's time with great valour, deſtroying the day's work of the enemy: but theſe damages were ſoon repaired by the enemy, who preſſed the city very ſore; for their ſoldiers were drawn out ready for the aſſault, though they delayed it for ſome time, in hopes that the city would ſurrender. But now, the earl of Peterborough arriving from Valencia, threw five hundred men into the place; and, according to his new way of waging war, haraſſed the ſkirts of the enemy's camp with light ſkirmiſhes, and adviſed king Charles to leave the city: but there was no poſſibility of making his

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retreat, if he had had a mind, though it is certain he had no intention of retreating. And when his affairs were reduced to the utmoſt danger, he, with ſteady courage, made anſwer, "That he would rather ſ with "his ſubjects in defending the city, than conſult his own ſafety alone by "a diſhonourable flight." The king very much inſpired the citizens, as well as the ſoldiers; for he knew that if he ſhould ſhrink in the leaſt, the whole misfortune would be imputed to him.

In the mean time Sir John Leake and admiral Waſſenaer, well knowing that the only way to ſerve the common cauſe was that of expedition, made all the ſail they poſſibly could: but contrary winds, as already mentioned, and ſometimes a dead calm, very much hindered their ſailing. They therefore ſent out thoſe ſhips which were the beſt ſailors, not only to carry the ſuccour to the beſieged, but alſo to inſpire them with freſh courage; for they were ſo encompaſſed with the enemy's forces, that there was no hope of relief left them by land; and king Charles was alſo ſhut up by ſea by the enemy's fleet: but as ſoon as the wind began to blow fair, the admirals loſt no time till they came in ſight of the enemy, and bore up before the wind towards the French fleet. On the ſight of this the French ſhips, which lay at anchor in the road of Barcelona, cutting their cables, made off from that ſtation in the utmoſt hurry, and leaving ſome of their tranſports behind them, returned to Toulon.

The ſiege raiſed.

The Spaniſh army, terrified at the arrival of the fleet, and ſtruck with an apprehenſion of God's anger, on the ſight of the eclipſe of the ſun, when they were in a manner certain of effecting their enterpriſe, now betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, leaving behind them military ſtores of all kinds, and a great number of cannon and baggage, with their ſick and wounded; whom the marſhal de Theſſe recommended to the earl of Peterborough to relieve and ſupply them with what was neceſſary. King Philip himſelf fled along with de Theſſe, in the utmoſt precipitation, through the territories of Vich to Perpignan, and ſo out of Spain. The marſhal de Theſſe left a garriſon in Roſes.

As the earl of Peterborough had endeavoured to haraſs the enemy's camp with ſmall ſkirmiſhes during the ſiege, ſo when the fleet appeared

peared off Altea, he went on ſhip-board; but now, either becauſe his troops were few and fatigued, he did not purſue the flying enemy, but left that to be done by the armed peaſants or Miquelets. King Charles, now thinking it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to conſult how to improve his victory, reſolved to march to Madrid. The earl of Peterborough reimbarked with his foot, ſailed along the coaſt, and went again to Valencia, without aſking the king's leave. Hence flowed the diſgrace and ruin of the confederates affairs in Spain; and hence thoſe contentions and mutual reproaches which unhappily divided and diſtracted the councils of the confederates, which ſhall be mentioned hereafter.

THE length of the voyage between Spain and England was a great detriment to Charles; but the enmities and diſſentions of the nobles, and indolence of the officers, and the impunity of every thing in England, were ſtill greater. The party-zealots were not only at liberty to do what they would, but through the rage of faction, violence, and injuſtice, had ſometimes the appearance of authority. The generals were ſo indulgent to the colonels, captains, and other military men, as to diſpenſe with their abſence from the ſervice; for no other reaſon that I know of, but only to keep them out of harm's way, and to give them an opportunity to ſhew themſelves the more frequently in taverns and play-houſes at London

KING CHARLES, either prevented by a fit of devotion, or by the want of proviſions and money, or elſe out of averſion to the earl of Peterborough, made a long ſtay in thoſe parts, as if his fortune had confined him to the ſea-coaſt. At length, being informed of the affection of the people, and receiving an invitation from the Spaniards of Arragon, and over-perſuaded by his favourites, who envied foreigners the honour of placing the king on his throne, he began his march on the 5th day of July, with his little army, by the way of Tarragon, to Saragoſſa, having furniſhed himſelf with money from the treaſury, the churches, and the people. The earl of Peterborough, either making preparations for the king's journey, or employing himſelf about ſomething elſe, remained in Valencia; and it was ſaid in England, that

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that he did not forward the king's march towards Madrid, as he ought moſt diligently to have done, ſince that was preferable to all other buſineſs whatſoever: but Peterborough, on the other hand, complained that the king had marred his own honour.

WHILE king Charles tarried at Saragoſſa, king Philip, who had left Spain by the way of Perpignan, on the river Thelis, and led his army through Guienne, re-entered Spain by long marches by the way of Navarre, and by his preſence kept his ſubjects within the bounds of their duty, commanding his forces to follow him by more eaſy marches. In the mean time, both the kings ſent orders to their reſpective forces in Portugal to come to their aſſiſtance with all ſpeed. The duke of Berwick, now made a marſhal of France, obeyed his king's command, as the earl of Galway did that of his; but the earl of Peterborough, who was more apt to command than to obey, continued ſtill on the coaſt of Valencia, meditating, I know not what project, upon the iſles of Majorca and Minorca; or whether indeed king Charles had given him reaſon to expect him. Mr. Stanhope, the queen's envoy, who ſecretly aſpired to the command of the army in Spain, in order to avoid the ſuſpicion of his having ſuch a deſign, or of his failing in his duty, publicly in his converſation adviſed the king as much as he could, to march towards Madrid by the way of Valencia; but the king's favourites oppoſed this advice; and eſpecially the Condé de Cifuentes, under pretence, that the king was not yet provided with all things ſuitable to his royal dignity; on which brigadier general Stanhope, in great indignation, ſaid, "That king William "did not come to the throne by formal paces, but with all the ſpeed "he could poſſibly make to London. If," ſaid he, "he had waited "for a magnificent entry, he had never been king of England." And, therefore, he adviſed the king not to ſtand upon the formal ſtate of the royal dignity, but to make all the haſte he could to Madrid; he alſo, it is ſaid, publicly proteſted againſt his going any other way than by that of Valencia. Notwithſtanding this, it is believed, that he privately conſented to the king; and the earl of Peterborough looked upon him with an eye of jealouſy as envious of his command. But ſo it was ordered by fate, that he was to go the way that

that was moſt agreeable to his favourites, who had the chief aſcendancy over him, and who were ſaid in England and Holland to have been under the influence of the French king.

Campaign in Portugal.

THE Portugueze, whoſe conſultations are apt to be tedious, were now of divers and oppoſite opinions. Some adviſed to lay ſiege to Badajoz, others to Alcantara, which was more difficult of acceſs by its natural ſituation, than ſtrong by artificial fortifications; and ſome were for taking Cividad Rodrigo, becauſe that way the road to Madrid was open, through a noble plain, enriched with meadows, fruitful fields and towns. But the main objection to this was, the difficulty of ſome paſſes in the way towards it, and the want of all things, eſpecially ſince the Portugueze had not laid up any proviſion of corn in thoſe places. The Portugueze, therefore, taking the field in the end of March, endeavoured to attack the duke of Berwick; but the duke, diſcovering the deſign, broke up his camp; and the Portugueze followed him cloſely, and overtaking the rear of his army, conſiſting of three thouſand men, put them to flight, killing ſixty of the enemy, and taking two hundred horſes. Thence they marched on to Alcantara in Eſtremadura, to which they laid ſiege on the 10th of April; and when their works were ready for making an aſſault, the governor treated about a ſurrender, and after hoſtages were exchanged, delivered up that place to the Portugueze. Thence they marched on to Muralcia, which, after a ſiege of two days, ſubmitted to them: and on the 23d day of April, Coria alſo ſubmitted.

Alcantara taken.

ABOUT this time the earl of Galway, in his camp at Alcantara, publiſhed to the Spaniards his orders from the queen, and appealed to the people according to the queen's command; who, on this occaſion perhaps, thought the people were not incompetent judges of the royal dignity in the eſtabliſhment of kings, though ſhe had begun at home to claim to herſelf the rights of kings as ſacred and inviolable. The ſubſtance of his manifeſto, and of the queen's orders to him was, that the Spaniards ſhould revolt from Philip, and return to the obedience of king Charles; giving them full and ample aſſurance of her protection

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and aſſiſtance after they ſhould have ſhaken off the French yoke; and he further promiſed thoſe who would ſo revolt, the ſame poſts, honours, and benefits, as they enjoyed under Philip.

As ſoon as the confederates had paſſed the Tagus, they marched to Placentia; where, in order to provide themſelves with bread, they built ovens and mills, and prepared every thing for a longer march. At this time, the earl of Galway, now appointed general of the army in Spain, called a council of war on the 28th of April, and declared for marching directly for Madrid. But the Portuegueze made anſwer, "That if he muſt do this, they were not under any obligation, "neither was it ſafe for them to do ſo." Therefore, ſince they could not agree upon this, the queſtion was propoſed, What they were to do next? Upon this, it was reſolved to attack the duke of Berwick in his camp, before he could entrench himſelf at the river Tartaro. But the duke of Berwick, having intelligence of their deſign, retired from thence on the firſt of May, on which day the confederates had reſolved to attack his camp. When the confederates came to the Tartaro, they paſſed that river with great alacrity: but when they could not come up with the rear of the enemy's army, the Portugueze would not advance far from their own confines, but began to linger, pretending, in excuſe of their backwardneſs, the want of proviſions, and the length and difficulties of the march. The earl of Galway preſſed them ſtill to advance a little farther; but the Portugueze, deſpairing of Barcelona, and king Charles's ſafety, and conſulting the ſecurity of their own frontier, thought that was the principal thing they were to provide for; and therefore, in council, inſiſted much upon the want of proviſions, and the ſcarcity of forage. On the 10th of May, which was the very day on which the ſiege of Barcelona was raiſed, the Portugueze, who had no regard either to the earl of Galway's perſuaſions, or to the honour of the common cauſe, began to make their retreat towards their own borders: at which time one of the many meſſengers, diſpatched by the earl of Peterborough, arrived in the Portugueze camp, preſſing the earl of Galway to march to Madrid without delay. But this had no effect upon the Portugueze; who, diſguiſing their fears under the pretence of proviſions and difficulties,

culties, made all they could homewards, and, in three days, returned to Coria. About this time, the king of Portugal ſent orders to his forces to ſtay where they were, till they ſhould hear the ſucceſs of the ſiege; but theſe orders did not reach them till long after they had begun their march. In their return, they came to Cividad Rodrigo, and laid ſiege to it, which was ſoon taken; and ſome of the ſoldiers of the garriſon took an oath not to ſerve againſt the confederates again within a year, and others never; which oaths were not impoſed, but all voluntary.

Cividad Rodi

On the 27th of May, the joyful news came to the camp, that the ſiege of Barcelona was raiſed; upon which they were all ſo exceedingly tranſported, that they unanimouſly reſolved to march to Madrid, being furniſhed with proviſions for twenty-four days. On the 2d day of June, the confederates, to the number of fourteen thouſand, began their march, and proceeded to Salamanca. From thence they ſent out detachments, which reduced ſeveral other fortified places; then they advanced to Penneranda, famous for fine wool. When their army was marching by Segovia, a city celebrated for the ſalubrity of its air, the beauty of its women, and an ancient aqueduct, as well as for the fineſt wool in all Spain, the citizens ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion to king Charles. Theſe were aſſured, that they had nothing to fear; that the confederates came only to deliver the people of Spain from the oppreſſion of a few factious men, and to reſtore king Charles to his rights and dignity. From thence they proceeded by regular marches, finding all places open to them, wherever they came. On the 23d of June they reached the river Guadarama, near the royal palace of the Eſcurial. On the 24th they ſent their horſe to Madrid, to receive the ſubmiſſion of the citizens to king Charles, and to turn out ſuch as were diſſaffected to him.

The duke of Berwick, knowing the earl of Galway's deſign, now endeavoured to make up by induſtry, what was wanting in fortune; and therefore withdrew his forces into the interior parts of Spain, obſerving in his march the moſt exact diſcipline. When the earl of Galway had intelligence of the enemy's haſty retreat, he made all the

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ſpeed he could to purſue them. He detached a body of horſe to fall upon their rear, but could not overtake them, becauſe the duke of Berwick's ſmall army had gone off a great way before, and had left garriſons in ſeveral places behind them to retard the enemy's purſuit.

The duke of Berwick came to Madrid almoſt at the ſame time with king Philip, and encamped a while before it, till Philip had taken care to remove all his rich furniture and treaſures from thence. A few days before king Philip left this city, he called his grandees together, and told them, he was going to his army, and required them to attend him; but, as they were in doubt what alterations every day or hour might produce, they all retired to their country-ſeats. Then the king ſummoned all the militia of the kingdom by his proclamation, requiring them likewiſe to attend him; but they ſeemed equally averſe to war, either becauſe ſuch men ſeldom have great courage, or elſe becauſe they had no great hopes of that prince's cauſe. In the midſt of theſe difficulties, king Philip receiving intelligence of the earl of Galway's approach, left Madrid on the 21ſt day of June, and retired to Navarre; gathering his forces together with the utmoſt expedition, partly from France, and partly from Spain.

King Philip withdraws from Madrid.

In the mean time, king Charles gave great hopes to the Portugueze and Spaniards, and particularly to the earl of Galway, of his ſpeedy arrival, by letters ſent to them from Arragon; wherein he acquainted them that he was coming to join them by the way of Valencia. Mean while, the king and the count de Noailles went to Saragoſſa; and what was the cauſe of their long ſtay there, the earl of Peterborough and the count de Noailles knew. Some imputed this long delay in coming to his capital to the treachery of ſome of thoſe about him; others to folly, or to a fit of devotion. Brigadier general Stanhope ſeemed to be highly enraged at it; knowing that great revolutions frequently turn upon the improvement of a moment. The king had not received any letters from the earl of Peterborough; nor could he hear in any other way where the earl was employing his time. The Portugueze were amazed. The earl of Galway, being fretted at the king's delay, but imputing it wholly to the will and wrath of God

God alone, wrote to the earl of Peterborough, deſiring him, at leaſt, to come, that he might reſign to him the command of the army, of which Galway ſeemed now to be grown weary. But the earl did not come, nor ſo much as ſend either letter or meſſenger to inform him what he was about, or what was the cauſe of his delay. There is a report that he wrote to the earl of Galway to this effect: "Since "my laſt, I have not wrote again to you, becauſe I would not have "the ſcheme of your advancement hindred." Galway alſo wrote to king Charles, "if not for the ſake of the crown, yet for ſhame, and to prevent reproach, to come thither immediately." And while the letters and meſſengers were ſent about every where, he required the governor of Madrid to proclaim king Charles, to which the Spaniards ſeemed now to have no inclination; for all the cities of Spain were buſy in conſulting one another about their allegiance, and to which of the two kings they ſhould adhere.

WHEN there was no news of king Charles's coming, but every day brought freſh advices of king Philip's return through Navarre, the people of Madrid excuſed themſelves to the earl of Galway, and began to ſhew a reluctancy to take a ſtep from whence they could not recede without the utmoſt danger. But Galway, ſince king Charles, through the influence of his favourites, ſhewed no regard either to his entreaties, or to the earl of Peterborough's meſſages, for the honour of the confederates, cauſed king Charles to be proclaimed at Madrid; which was done with a great concourſe of people of all ranks, and ſeemingly to the great joy of the citizens. Upon this, the people of Toledo, and even cardinal Portocarrero himſelf, wrote to the marquis das Minas, that though they had formerly taken an oath of allegiance to king Philip, they were now ready to ſubmit and devote themſelves to king Charles, ſince the former king had abdicated the kingdom. All things ſeemed now quieted in Spain, and to ſucceed to the general wiſh of the Spaniards, provided they had but their king with them. The earl of Galway preſſed the king, warning him of his danger and his duty: and now he wrote to the earl of Peterborough, the deſiring him to advance to the river Xarama, in order to diſlodge the enemy. At this time the earl of Galway received advice that lieute-

King Charles III. proclaimed at Madrid.

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nant general Wyndham had taken poſſeſſion of Requena, which opened to them a paſſage to the confederates out of Valencia into Caſtile; from whence they proceeded, and took Alcala.

THE earl of Peterborough wrote to the king on the 5th and 6th of July the news of the taking of Carthagena; and how impatiently the Spaniards expected him there: but ſtill he did not go to his majeſty, ſince it was much better, he ſaid, that the king ſhould meet him. The king wrote to him again, that there was no occaſion for him or any other perſon to come to help him. For at that time he was governed by the councils of the Condé de Cifuentes; who, without his knowledge, had conceived an irreconcileable hatred to the earl of Peterborough. Beſides the contentions at court, there were diſputes alſo in the camp about poſts, and commands in the army; which gave occaſion to ſuch delays as were of dangerous conſequence to the ſtate of the kingdom, and the confederate war. In the mean time, the earl of Galway was undeſervedly applauded, and the earl of Peterborough as undeſervedly railed at in England.

WHEN nobody could account for the reaſon of the king's delay, a rumour was induſtriouſly ſpread about in Spain that he was dead; which was preſently confirmed by two prieſts upon oath. To gain the more credit to their fiction, one of them inſiſted, that he ſaw the king's body embalmed; and the other, that he ſaw the ſame buried. But theſe reports were ſoon after found out to be downright lies of the prieſts own invention. The minds of the Spaniards were ſo much diſcouraged with theſe rumours, that they loſt all hope, and began daily to riſe in tumults up and down the country. The Portugueze were in great want of corn. The enemy, returning from France through Navarre, drew near. The people of Calatrava, Toledo, Mancha, and other places, which had declared for king Charles, revolted a ſecond time; and all Spain began again to be over-run with armed men, and every thing to be thrown into confuſion.

AND now king Charles ſent letters to the earl of Galway, ſignifying his intention to come to Molina, on the 28th of July; and deſiring

firing the earl to cover and ſecure his march, leſt he ſhould be intercepted by the enemy: the earl of Galway therefore marched out to Sopetra, and the enemy was at Xadraguen, not far diſtant. When the confederates arrived at that place, the enemy's out-guards retired to the camp; and the paſſes were ſo difficult, that there was no opportunity of fighting them, ſo that they cannonaded each other at a diſtance. Reinforcements came to king Philip's camp daily, and therefore the duke of Berwick reſolved to force the confederates to an engagement: the earl of Galway, on receiving notice of this, made a quick march, and encamped on the other ſide of the river Henares.

About this time, the enemy being ſuperior in number to the confederates, king Philip publiſhing an edict, ſent a body of his forces to Madrid, to execute all kinds of cruelty upon the friends of king Charles, and confirm thoſe who were wavering in his own intereſt. Inſurrections were made at Madrid: king Charles's garriſon was forced out of town, and his declaration commanded to be burnt. King Charles having met the earl of Peterborough at Paſtrana, came at laſt, on the 6th of Auguſt, to the camp at Guadalaxara; bringing but few troops with him, beſides his own and the earl of Peterborough's guards. After a review of the army, the king found how much his troops were now inferior to the enemy, and how ill adviſed he had been to make ſo long a delay. The earl of Peterborough, a few days after he came to the camp, apprehending, that through enmity he ſhould loſe the command of the army, and ſeeing king Charles's affairs in a deſperate ſtate, began to be deſirous of returning to Valencia. This command, which the earl of Galway made a ſhew of reſigning, he refuſed to accept. In this ruinous ſtate of affairs, it is reported that the king ſaid to the earl of Peterborough upon his deſiring to leave the army, "Whether we are "reſtored, or whether we loſe all hope of it, I entreat you to remain "with the army."

King Philip recovers Madrid.

A council of war being afterwards called, on account of the war in Italy, the earl of Peterborough producing the queen's orders, obtained leave to depart: after which he procured letters of credit from king

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Charles, authoriſing him to borrow money of the Genoeſe, or others wherever he could, and to charge his Spaniſh dominions with the repayment of it, with intereſt: but the Genoeſe are not wont to lend money on ſuch terms. At laſt money was lent him at an exorbitant intereſt, on condition that it ſhould be made payable out of the Engliſh treaſury. For this fault at leaſt was chargeable upon the miniſtry in England at that time; that in relation to money-matters, they almoſt always unadviſedly took upon them to make good the emperor's part, not to ſpeak of that of king Charles too, and to ſupply their deficiencies out of the exchequer.

THE earl of Galway, deſtitute of all things, moved his camp from Guadalaxara towards Cuenca, where he ſtayed a month. But as through the loſs of ſo much time before, they had loſt the opportunity of doing any thing now, and that there was no conveniency for wintering in thoſe parts, he marched his army acroſs the Tagus, no ſooner than the ſeaſon of the year made it neceſſary for him to do ſo, near Fuentes; and from thence paſſed by regular marches along the plain of Inieſta. In this march the duke of Berwick had ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the confederates, but could not force them to a battle; for they marched in a ſquare body through the plain in a regular order. After they had paſſed the river Xucar, and come to Requena, the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas diſpoſed their troops, which were fatigued with the length of the march, and galled with their diſappointments, in winter-quarters.

As the diligence of one of the kings was highly applauded, ſo the tardineſs of the other was no leſs cenſured: but the blame thereof was laid upon the counts de Lichtenſtein and Ciſuentes, whoſe delay was deeply reſented by the confederates. King Charles wrote to the queen, that nobody could be more grieved at his delays than himſelf; and his miniſters charged this in ſome meaſure upon the earl of Peterborough. The earl vindicated himſelf in a pamphlet, ingeniouſly written by Dr. Freind, who was ſaid to have been more attached to Peterborough than to the truth: on which account the lord Halifax, in the parliament houſe, ſmartly compared him to Quintus Curtius, who, in writing the

the actions of Alexander the Great, had intermixed falſehood with his real atchievements. But the earl of Peterborough was not ſo much mortified at his leſſening the credit of his publication, as he was proud that he had compared him to the great Macedonian hero: and, therefore, being highly elated with his own actions in Spain, he afterwards entertained the houſe of lords with a long ſpeech on that ſubject for two hours together. From this time, however, the earl of Peterborough was no more a general, and began to look with envy upon the duke of Marlborough; of which, and the contentions which ſprung from this ſource in England, we ſhall take farther notice hereafter.

Heroiſm of king Philip's queen.

WHILE the affairs of king Philip had been in ſuch a deſperate ſituation in Spain, it is ſaid, that the French king was once upon the point of recalling him to France; but that king Philip's queen, who was a lady of great ſpirit, oppoſed it. The queen, though much fatigued with her journey, and the grief of her flight, perſuaded her huſband to ſtop at Pampelone, and wrote to the French king, "That "ſhe was not yet weary of the kingdom, declaring, that though ſhe had "followed her huſband ſo far, ſhe did not intend to leave Spain. "Even if her huſband ſhould be of a different mind, and ſhould reſolve "to abdicate the kingdom, ſhe could never follow his example ſo long "as life and health remained: the number of their troops, and the "affection of the people, ſhe conſidered as ſufficient grounds of con-"fident expectation that their misfortunes would yet be relieved; and "in this hope, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was greatly confirmed, when ſhe reflected "on the delays of the enemy." From theſe circumſtances, and the well known fidelity of the Spaniards, ſhe confidently predicted the reſtoration of the ſovereignty of all Spain.

THERE was a forged letter, wherein ſhe was made to ſay, "That if "there were occaſion, and that ſhe had an option, ſhe would more wil-"lingly give up her huſband than her crown." The queen certainly intimated very plainly, that ſhe would not eaſily be perſuaded to quit the kingdom, and inſpired great courage in the French king, who watched all opportunities of aſſiſting her. The affairs of Spain, from this time, underwent an entire revolution; for, after the flight from

Barcelona,

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Barcelona, all things were favourable to king Philip, except thoſe already mentioned. King Charles's delay at Saragoſſa was a very dark affair; and, in my opinion, rather to be aſcribed to the will of God, than to the treachery or folly of any man. This, however, is certain, that king Charles's miniſters were proud of the trappings of authority; and if the prince de Lichtenſtein, who was naturally indolent, did any thing of moment, it was to him a whole day's work. Nor was the earl of Peterborough looked upon in England as free from blame. As the ambition of Peterborough was cenſured here, ſo was the covetouſneſs of the count de Noailles, in Holland; and, while all crimes were committed with impunity, the delinquents ſcreened themſelves by the example of others: and thus, when the great acted like madmen, the common people were oppreſſed with a heavy load of taxes for carrying on the war.

As great events in war are often produced by ſmall accidents; ſo in one ſummer we ſaw Spain loſt and recovered; two kings conquered and conquering each other, and the conquered triumphing over the conqueror in his turn. According to the ſtate of their reſpective affairs, Philip at one time fled from Barcelona to Madrid, and Charles at another from Madrid to Barcelona; and the confuſions and viciſſitudes of thoſe times are ſcarcely credible. Unleſs general Stanhope had been with the king, we had long ago loſt the dominions which we now hold in Spain, was the noiſy boaſt of his favourers in England; as is common among thoſe who make no ſcruple to ſpread fabulous reports of their patrons.

Almost at one and the ſame time did the duke of Marlborough receive the news of the relief of king Charles and Barcelona, and king Charles that of the duke of Marlborough's victory at Ramillies; for the French king, perceiving that his ſoldiers began to have little confidence in the defence of their lines, which had been but of little ſecurity to him the laſt year, and that thoſe who had ſerved in former wars were now either grown few, or greatly ſunk in their ſpirits, reſolved in council to change the whole plan of the war, and now by courage to ſupport his declining fortune. He therefore gave orders to the marſhal

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de Villeroy to hazard a battle with the enemy; for he was confident that the Danes, as I ſaid before, would not come to the army, until the Dutch had given them ſatisfaction for their pay; and this, he aſſured himſelf alſo, that the Dutch were not able to perform: therefore, depending upon this foundation, he gave his ſoldiers authority to fight: but men's counſels often fail them; the marſhal de Villeroy came early into Flanders, and calling his troops out of their winter-quarters, and drawing out the garriſons in ſeveral places, aſſembled an army of ſeventy thouſand men between Tirlemont and Indoigne.

The duke of Marlborough's fifth campaign.

TOWARDS the end of the ſpring, as ſoon as there was forage ſufficient, the confederate forces took the field from the neighbourhood of Maeſtricht. The duke of Marlborough embarked from England in the month of April, 1706, and ſoon arrived in Holland: after having concerted the principal meaſures of the war with the ſtates at the Hague, he ſecretly ordered payment to the Danes; for want of which the duke of Wirtemberg, their commander, had declared to many people, that he neither would nor could ſtir out of his winter-quarters. This being reported to the French king, he not only gave Villeroy authority to fight, but preſſed him by letters to engage as ſoon as poſſible, in caſe the confederates ſhould give him any opportunity, leſt he ſhould be thought ſlack, and to act always only on the defenſive.

THE duke of Marlborough, and the veldt-marſhal D'Auverquerque, arrived at Maeſtricht on the 12th day of May; and, when they had reviewed and united their forces, relying on the courage of their men, they advanced towards the enemy. On the 21ſt, the marſhal de Villeroy, having reviewed his army, and taken a view of the forces of the enemy, paſſed the river: and now, not ſtudying by what means he might overcome the enemy, but how to improve his victory, he ſent a meſſenger to the elector of Bavaria, to haſten his coming, and to acquaint him that he was ready to engage, and that he and victory waited only for his arrival. Bavaria, not to be wanting in his part of the war, leaving his banquets, his ladies, and pleaſures, for which he had made preparations that night in a meadow, mounted his horſe,

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went out of Bruſſels by night, and overtook Villeroy in his march, who haſtened, as it were, to an aſſured victory.

The battle of Ramillies.

The duke of Marlborough receiving intelligence of the marſhal de Villeroy's approach, and that his army had advanced farther out of the lines than had been their daily cuſtom; on the 23d of May, having given the ſignal for a march, and ordered the tents to be ſtruck, moved his camp, and both the armies came within ſight of each other. The duke, when he came as far as Ramillies, ordered his troops to be drawn up againſt the enemy, and his army to be formed in the plain, as cloſe together as might be convenient, that their number might appear ſmall and contemptible to the enemy; for the Danes were coming up after them. Add to this, that as the field of battle in that plain was advantageous to the horſe, ſo the day was ſo clear, and the ſun ſo bright, that it ſeemed as it were to have been appointed by God himſelf for a battle, and invited the confederates to an engagement. The Britiſh troops were poſted on the right; general de Auverquerque, with the Dutch, on the left; and the center was compoſed of the auxiliary forces of both nations, Hanoverians, Heſſians, and others: the valour of the Pruſſians was deſiderated in this battle. Thus, about one of the clock after noon, the whole army was formed, and ſpaces were reſerved in the left wing to receive the Danes: the ſignal of battle was given to the ſoldiers, who waited for it with impatience: the French troops filled all the plain between the river Mehaigne and the village of Ramillies. Villeroy had alſo poſted twenty battalions of foot, with twelve pieces of cannon, at the village; and the troops of the king's houſehold were placed over againſt the Dutch dragoons, which redounded to their great diſgrace after the battle. The French, as if they had been haſtening to glory and plunder, drew out four battalions of the right wing, with which they began the battle: at the ſame time general D'Auverquerque fell on with the horſe; but the French ſtood their ground, and repulſed them. For the Dutch horſe did not ſtand their firſt charge; but being forced to give way, the French drove their firſt line upon the ſecond: the firſt line was rallied again by D'Auverquerque, and engaged

gaged the enemy, where the fight was very obſtinate; but the Dutch were forced again upon their ſecond line: then the ſecond line advanced in the place of the firſt, and repulſed the enemy. The French, after the Dutch horſe were repulſed, did not advance upon the ſecond line in cloſe order, but with ſome thin troops: the Dutch broke through theſe troops which had advanced too far; and having routed them, began to fall on ſword in hand.

MARLBOROUGH, perceiving that there was hard ſervice in the centre, commanded the Britiſh troops, who as yet had little to do to move from the right wing to the centre; and ſo from the centre to the left: where the enemy were ſtrongeſt, he ſent the Danes, who came up to the aſſiſtance of his troops during the very heat of the action, between the centre and the two wings; for as yet the victory was doubtful. While the duke of Marlborough was riding up and down to give the neceſſary orders, he had a fall from an unruly horſe Mr. Moleſworth, an alert young man, haſtened to his aſſiſtance while he was mounting Moleſworth's horſe, the enemy came almoſt up with him; and a cannon ball alſo took off the head of colonel Brindfield, his maſter of the horſe, hard by his ſide. The duke of Marlborough, ſprinkled with Brindfield's blood, being remounted, immediately haſtened to the main battle, where the declining ſtate of affairs required his preſence. When he came thither, obſerving that the enemy had extended their right wing to a great length, by drawing off ſome troops from the left, he ſent his dragoons to the ſuccour of the left wing, leſt the foot in that wing, which had ſuffered much, ſhould be ſurrounded by the enemy. The main impediment to the victory was, that the right wing of the confederates army could not come up with the enemy, by reaſon of a moraſs between them.

THE duke of Marlborough ordered lieutenant-general Schult to attack the village of Ramillies; leſt his left wing, now ſo far extended ſhould from thence be charged in the flank; after which there was no longer any doubt of the victory: for, by this time, the Britiſh troops in the right wing, had either found or made themſelves a paſſage through the moraſs. On the ſight of this, the enemy began to fly

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and neither the elector of Bavaria, nor the marſhal de Villeroy, though of late ſo confident of victory, could now reſtrain the flying French. Immediately the confederates horſe were engaged with the rear of the enemy in the right wing: on the left, the enemy, who had before maintained their ground with great reſolution, now diſabled by their wounds, began to give way. The marſhal de Villeroy ſent ſome battalions to cover their flying party, and if poſſible to renew the fight: but the confederates preſſed them ſo much the more violently, ſo that the French could not ſtand in any place. On perceiving this, the Bavarians, from the ambuſcade, began to attack the foremoſt of the confederates, in order to protect the rear of their own flying troops; but theſe were cloſely purſued by the horſe; and many of them being killed, the reſt ſought their ſafety by flight. The enemy's horſe in the left wing endeavoured to ſtand their ground, to ſecure the rear of their foot: but the confederates charged them ſo briſkly, that they forced them into the village of Autreglife; and making a terrible ſlaughter of them there, drove them again from thence. In this attack the Britiſh valour is ſaid to have been highly diſtinguiſhed under the conduct of the duke of Argyle. The Danes and the Dutch, on the left, purſued the flying enemy. Neither did they loſe any time in plundering the town and the camp; nor was there more time ſpent in the action than in this relation of it.

Lieutenant-general Wood, with his horſe, purſued the elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy attended with ſeven ſquadrons. Wood followed them with ſuch ſpeed, that, at length, he came up with them; he made a terrible ſlaughter of their rear; and brought off with him their ſtandards, kettle-drums, and many of their ſtouteſt officers; the elector himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. Major Petry alſo ſhewed great courage in this purſuit. But nobody gave greater proofs of moderation, as well as of military conduct, than the lord John Hay, Sir Richard Temple, major general Roſs, and colonel Hunter, who followed the enemy ſo cloſe, that they forced their battalions to throw themſelves into a wood; and the dragoons, whom they commanded, left the enemy's baggage untouched, and, more intent upon glory than plunder, ſurrounded them in their retreat.

Here

Here the enemy, according to their orders, ſallied out of an ambuſcade againſt the purſuers, and put them into ſome diſorder; but theſe preſently recovering their order, broke into the wood, and put all they met to the ſword. While the dragoons were all engaged in cloſe fight, ſome troops of horſe ſtopped to plunder the enemy's baggage on the outſide of the wood; and there they fell hard to work upon the prey. Who theſe were, or whence they came, is not very material. This act of rapacity was certainly a great diſgrace to them; general Lumley, general of the horſe, rebuked and chaſtiſed them for it; thinking it a ſcandalous crime to ſully and overcaſt the ſplendour of ſuch a glorious day. For all parties had done their duty in battle; nor was either the courage of the ſoldiers, or the prudent conduct of a general, ever more ſignally diſplayed, than that of the conquerors this day at Ramillies. For the duke of Marlborough's moderation in battle was more glorious than his victory. Six thouſand of the enemy were taken, and ſeven thouſand killed, a hundred and ſixty colours or ſtandards, thirty pieces of braſs cannon, with a vaſt quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. In this diſperſion of the enemy, many deſerted their colours; others were quite worn out with labour and travel. And all places around were ſo filled with tumult and conſternation, that thoſe who had eſcaped by flight, were haraſſed to death with terror.

On the news of this victory, when it was thought that nothing could ſtop the progreſs of the conquerors, or ſecure the ſafety of the conquered, the people of Flanders ſent deputies to the duke of Marlborough. The marquis de Villeroy himſelf retired to the remoteſt parts of Brabant to ſupport the declining ſtate of France. The elector of Bavaria lamented to God and the French king, that the duke of Marlborough, who had God almoſt always on his ſide, was born to be his ruin, and was ſtruck with the utmoſt anguiſh, as appears by his letters written to the French king on the 23d of May, the day of the battle. The man who attempted general D'Auverquerque's life, after the general had ſpared his life in the battle, was a mere barbarian. The ſame thing happened that day to colonel Preſton, the commander of a Scotch battalion; who was wounded in the back by a ſurrendered priſoner,

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priſoner, of which wound he continued lame to his death. But not to leſſen the honour of that nation, it is not uſual for the French, within our memory, to act the part of aſſaſſins in war. This was, however, a very imprudent, not to call it flagitious action, ſince the fault of thoſe abandoned wretches had well nigh expoſed many brave men to puniſhment, who were priſoners of war. The duke of Marlborough, who was equally renowned for valour and for moderation, ſent the priſoners into the interior parts of Holland, and gave orders for their good treatment. Of this he had not in the late wars any example in the conduct of France; yet he judged, that, by thus conſulting the health and the comfort of his priſoners, he alſo conſulted the reputation of a juſt and honourable war. He ſent the ſick and wounded into garriſons for the recovery of their health. And having detached a party of horſe to advance that night as far as the river Deyle, the duke, thinking it improper to give the enemy any time to recover from their conſternation, moved his camp ſoon after the battle, and marched all night directly to the Deyle, without any intermiſſion; the next day he paſſed that river, in order to repair the damage ſuſtained by the delays there the preceding year. After this, all was in the utmoſt confuſion and conſternation at Louvain, where there is an univerſity as famous for drinking as for learning. The clergy and citizens there, alarmed at the ſudden diſaſters, and the wrath of God, and fearing leſt their city ſhould be plundered, came all out unarmed in their robes, and with other tokens of ſupplicants, to the gates, imploring protection of the duke of Marlborough and the Dutch deputies; declaring, that they were weary of the French yoke, and ready now to make their ſubmiſſion, as if allegiance ought to change with every turn of the wheel of fortune! For nothing was ſo much thought or talked of, as the terror of the name of Marlborough. and the very inhabitants and ploughmen in the fields, who had been terrified by the French with rumours concerning an army of heretics, waſted themſelves night and day with vain fears and tumults.

Louvain ſubmits to the confederates;

On the 26th of May, the duke of Marlborough advanced to Dighem, where he received a letter from the marquis de Deyne, governor of Bruſſels, acquainting him, that the people of that city, in this confuſion,

confuſion, were ready to ſubmit; the ſtates of Brabant alſo, by a deputation, deſired leave to make their ſubmiſſions to king Charles III. They returned thanks to the queen of England, and the ſtates of Holland, their conquerors, for coming to their deliverance; imploring preſent aid in their difficulties, and that the ſoldiers might be reſtrained from offering violence to their modeſt virgins and matrons; and aſſuring them, that every city in Flanders, which was not in the power of the French, ſhould be open to them.

and Bruſſels.

THE duke of Marlborough and the ſtates deputies, among whom was monſ. Van Cuper, who was a ſincere lover of his country, and a man of learning, congratulated the ſtates of Brabant on their ſurrender, and appointed a day for receiving them into protection, and obedience to king Charles III. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough publiſhed an order to reſtrain his ſoldiers from pillaging the inhabitants, or doing them any injury, or attempting any violence to the nuns and other women, but commanding them to pay ready money for every thing they wanted of them; and declaring that, in caſe of any offence to the contrary, he would not only puniſh the offender himſelf, but the regiment to which he belonged. It is certain the whole army, at that time, abſtained, in a manner that was very remarkable, from all violence. The greateſt outrage committed by any that I know of, was that of general Churchill's chaplain. For he, ſcouring about the country with a party of ſoldiers to get money, came to the houſe of another prieſt in the country, which he ſearched and examined in every corner: he took away from the country prieſt his veſſels, chalices, and other hallowed utenſils, becauſe, he ſaid, they were uſed in an idolatrous worſhip, pretending to have colonel Palmes's orders for it. And he violently railed at and abuſed the guard which was poſted in the prieſt's houſe, for no other reaſon but becauſe they would have prevented his robbery, as colonel Palmes had commanded them. In the mean time, the prieſt mounting the only horſe they had left him, rode directly to the colonel's quarters, and informed him of every thing that had happened to him. Palmes, enraged at the injury done his late hoſt, as well as at the ſcandal and diſhonour to himſelf, haſtened to the duke of Marlbo-

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rough's tent, and complained of the outrage. The duke, provoked at ſo wicked an action, as was alſo the whole army, ordered a ſtrict inquiry to be made after the authors of it; and a party of ſoldiers was immediately ſent out towards the place, who either met the chaplain by the way, or ſeized him in the fact. As the whole army was very eager to know who was the author of this ſacrilegious action; ſo when they ſaw the man, whom they all knew, brought into the camp, they wondered the leſs at it; for many conjectured him to be the man, even before they ſaw him; as they knew not any other perſon ſo audacious and impious, among all that followed the camp. When he was brought into the camp, he excuſed himſelf, by alleging the idolatry of the Romiſh religion; as if any religion would allow of a ſacrilegious action. But, when he had made a long defence, the duke of Marlborough deteſting the man, but reverencing his order, ſaid, "He "would pardon him, becauſe he was a clergyman; but commanded "him to quit the camp inſtantly, leſt he ſhould infect the ſol-"diers with his baſe morals, which were a diſgrace to the whole "army." This prieſt, being privately diſmiſſed from the camp, went to Bruſſels; where he laid aſide the character of a clergyman, and for ſome time oppreſſed the citizens with exactions, under the denomination of general Churchill's ſecretary. At laſt he was ſent over into England, where he boaſted exceedingly of his own merit, and pretended to diſcover to the clergy great myſteries concerning the action in Flanders; being full of reſentment both againſt Marlborough and Palmes. This wretch, although an object of general deteſtation, wiſhed to paſs himſelf for a perſon of religion and probity, and hunted about all England in hopes to get ſome rich preferment.

AFTER this, the duke of Marlborough went to Bruſſels. The magiſtrates met him at the gates, imploring his protection, and ſafety for themſelves and their goods. This was granted: and all the communities or corporations, taking the oaths of allegiance to king Charles III. were left in full poſſeſſion of all the rights and liberties they enjoyed before. They were aſſured, in a public and numerous aſſembly, that they had no cauſe to fear, but that every thing ſhould be proſperous and pleaſant to them. And, having addreſſed himſelf to the citizens in

a few words, concerning his own moderation, he promiſed his protection to all but ſuch of the French as had lately come thither; and adviſed them, as they valued their own ſafety, immediately to deliver up to his troops the corn, proviſions, wine, and every thing elſe that belonged to the enemy. For it is common for the inhabitants of Flanders to have vaults in their fields and country-houſes, and eſpecially in the monaſteries, for the ſtowage of corn and wine; and a great quantity of theſe, and many other things, which the French were not able to carry away with them, they had hid there; but the Dutch deputies were ſoon acquainted therewith by their informers. And as there were many things found in the field of battle, which were a demonſtrative proof of the victory over the enemy; ſo as great a ſpoil was found after it: and the army of the confederates, who had born many hardſhips with ſingular patience, who had come farther than they expected to come from their own magazines, and were daily waiting for proviſions out of Holland, now poſſeſſed in abundance, not only the neceſſaries, but the luxuries of life.

MARLBOROUGH, without any loſs of time, placed the chief adminiſtration of civil government in the hands of the ſtates of Brabant, who were to manage all affairs in conjunction with the Engliſh and Dutch deputies. And, after he had ordered every thing according to the unanimous opinion of the council, he made a reſpectful viſit to the princeſs of Soiſſons and Aremberg.

THE duke, who was ſparing both of the blood and treaſure of the citizens, left Bruſſels, with a ſmall garriſon, only ſufficient to defend the city againſt the parties of the enemy, and other rovers, who hovered up and down the country.

THE French, who had eſcaped from the battle, returned towards their own confines. Some retired with the elector of Bavaria to Mons or Namur, at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maeſe; others, in the utmoſt conſternation, made a precipitate flight within their own ſtrongholds upon the Scheldt; nor was any of them ſo weary or languid as to reſt, in the ſame place, more nights than one; ſo full were

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they of apprehenſion that their all was at ſtake. They would have ſtayed a while at Ghent and Oudenard; but hearing of the duke of Marlborough's approach, they were ſo afraid of his very name, that they left ſmall garriſons there, and fled as far as Tournay, laying aſide all thoughts of defending Ghent. The marſhal de Villeroy, making a long and haſty march, exhorted the magiſtrates of the cities in his way to retain their allegiance to the king, and not to be caſt down with his preſent misfortunes, but to ſupply their friends with money and all other neceſſaries. But on the report of the duke of Marlborough's approach towards thoſe cities, Villeroy had not time to levy money of the companies and bankers, nor even to carry off his own along with him; and thoſe cities, hearing that the ſtates of Brabant had ſubmitted, grew very remiſs in anſwering the marſhal de Villeroy's demands; and, as it commonly happens in calamitous circumſtances, inſtead of friends, became enemies. However, at the name of the elector of Bavaria, the handſome women, whoſe favourite he was, would often burſt into tears. At this time, deputies came from Mechlin and Aloſt, and other towns, to the duke of Marlborough, whoſe ſubmiſſion he received to king Charles III. and diſmiſſed them all very graciouſly. The duke himſelf went to Aloſt; and from thence ſent the duke of Wirtemberg, with his detachment, towards Gavre, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat.

and Mechlin, Aloſt, &c.

About the ſame time, brigadier general Cadogan, who had been ſent to Antwerp to improve and extend the preſent courſe of proſperity, ſent advice to the duke of Marlborough of what had paſſed there, and of the diſpoſition of the citizens. Cadogan, thinking every place at the mercy of the confederates, ventured thither with a ſmall party, believing, that when he appeared before it with his detachment, the citizens would make ſome brave attempt. But, when he came thither, he found that the citizens were not ſo well diſpoſed to king Charles as he expected; and that his forces were too weak to take the city; and ſuch as, in caſe of a battle, he could not depend on: he, therefore, judging it more eaſy to gain the place by policy than by force, pitched his camp on the oppoſite ſide of the river againſt the city, and ſummoned it to ſurrender. In the mean time, he treated ſecretly with

with the marquis de Terracena, governor of the citadel; and having gained him to his ſide, and to the intereſt of king Charles III. he ſent for the French governor of the city. A treaty was ſet on foot; a truce made for eight days; and hoſtages given: at laſt, on condition to preſerve the city, with its religion and liberties inviolate, the French marched out; leaving hoſtages for the payment of their debts to the citizens. The conditions granted to the marquis de Terracena, were different from thoſe granted to the French. Whether they were, as it was reported or no, Terracena continued in the command of the citadel; chuſing rather to be a ſharer with the duke of Marlborough in his victories, than a ſubject and ſervant to king Philip in his adverſity. On the ſurrender of this town the war was carried into Flanders, and a free navigation opened upon the Scheldt and the Lys, and a way for bringing proviſions by water-carriage from Holland. Others, who were ſent to other fortified places, reconciled the people of Flanders and Brabant, and all the countries they marched through, by the authority which conquerors commonly carry with them, and reduced them to the obedience and juriſdiction of king Charles III.

Antwerp ſurrendered.

On the 1ſt day of June, major general Roſs was ſent to Bruges, and brigadier Dewitz to Oudenard, to reduce thoſe cities under the ſubjection and obedience of king Charles; the former of which ſent deputies to the duke of Marlborough to make their ſubmiſſion to king Charles; the latter made excuſes, as being yet in the power of the French. The duke of Marlborough, being informed of this, ſent thither ſeven battalions, with a proportionable number of cannon and mortars, to lay ſiege to it; upon whoſe appearance the governor immediately ſurrendered Oudenard.

Bruges ſubmitted;

and Oudenard:

At the ſame time, the governor of Ghent, having intelligence of the duke of Marlborough's approach, quitted the city; and the next day the magiſtrates diſpatched their deputies to his grace, to acquaint him, that, being now freed from the French yoke, their city was ready to acknowledge the juriſdiction and allegiance of king Charles III. and the magiſtrates came out to meet him, humbly imploring his protection and aſſiſtance.

and Ghent.

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After this, he ſummoned the governor of Oſtend, by major-general Roſs, and the garriſon of Dendermonde alſo, to ſurrender. When they ſeemed inclined to make reſiſtance, the duke commanded all things which were neceſſary for a ſiege to be got ready, in order to beſiege thoſe towns; but he went himſelf, in the mean while, to the Hague, to haſten what was wanting for the ſervice of the war, and to concert meaſures for the common cauſe with the ſtates-general. Whereever he came, he was joyfully received with the acclamations of the people and the firing of guns; nor did he ſpend more time in theſe things than was conſiſtent with the neceſſary expedition. In the mean time, the Dutch lieutenant Fagel, according to his orders, attacked Damm, and Plaſſendael, ſword in hand, and took thoſe fortifications by ſtorm; after which, he eaſily made himſelf maſter of the ſluices.

On the 2d day of June, after the duke of Marlborough had conferred with the ſtates-general about the ſettlement of the government in Brabant, and other important affairs, he left the Hague. Four miles out of the city, he was met by the biſhop of Antwerp, who came to congratulate him on his great ſucceſſes. That night the biſhop ſhewed his grace the utmoſt honours, entertained him with plays, and a noble collation at his own houſe. As many others alſo had come out to meet him, he avoided the compliments of the citizens, and returned to the camp the next day; where he congratulated the velt-marſhal D'Auverquerque on his progreſs in the ſiege of Oſtend. But the cannon were not yet come up; the ground all about Oſtend was ſandy, and unfit either for mounts or trenches, or mines; there were alſo few bavins or faſcines; and a fit ſucceſſor was wanting to Cohorne, who had lately died. All theſe circumſtances made the ſiege go on very ſlowly. For the city was beſieged by D'Auverquerque on the 15th of June; but for want of cannon, and through the ſcarcity both of wood and water, as well as the unfitneſs of the ſoil, the works were not finiſhed before the 1ſt of July. A whole month was ſpent in drawing and fitting the machines, and making the other preparations. At that time, Sir Stafford Fairborne, admiral of the fleet which was intended for Spain, lying then at anchor near the Iſle of Wight, was ſent for to block up the city by ſea. Fairborne, having been long detained by contrary winds, ſo that

that he could not get out of the port to ſail for Spain, leſt he ſhould ſpend his time there to no purpoſe, obeyed the call; and, ſailing thither, brought his ſhips before the port of Oſtend, and planting his guns againſt the city, bombarded it from the ſea, as the velt-marſhal D'Auverquerque cannonaded it by land. The city of Oſtend was filled with ſuch a quantity of fire thrown into it with the bombs, that there was no ſuch thing as ſtanding ſafe either on the works or in the city. At laſt, on the 8th of July, and the 6th day after the works were finiſhed, the governor of the city began to treat about a ſurrender. Thus Oſtend was now taken by the ſkill and courage of the ſailors, as well as by the valour of the ſoldiers, in little more than as many days as it had formerly held out years. And as the velt-marſhal D'Auverquerque's conduct was highly celebrated, ſo in this ſiege the diſtinguiſhed valour and prudence of the duke of Argyle, as alſo the boldneſs and bravery of lieutenant-general Fagel in the taking of Plaſſendael, was no leſs deſervedly applauded; nor was the duke of Marlborough wanting on his part to this ſiege. As he had, by the late victory, delivered the country from the enemy, ſo now alſo every thing ſubmitted to his fortune and authority.

Oſtend taken.

After Oſtend was taken, and the works of the beſiegers levelled, the duke of Marlborough, without delay, removed from his camp at Rouſſelaer to Harlebec, and by the way took poſſeſſion of Courtray, upon the Lys; from thence he marched to Helchin, upon the Scheldt, and laid four bridges over that river. The elector of Bavaria, apprehenſive from this circumſtance, that the confederates were marching thither, withdrew to Valenciennes.

Courtray ſubmits.

A few days before this, when the report of the diſaſter at Ramillies threw all things into diſorder and confuſion at Paris, the king, in great agitation of mind, ſent monſieur de Chamillard, who then was his prime miniſter, to the confines of the Netherlands, to know how far his troops would fly, and, in ſhort, what was like to be the iſſue of it; for they doubted of ſafety even at Paris. The French king was alſo greatly afraid of inſurrections in France itſelf, or that the flight of his army

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army ſhould excite tumults. Chamillard, the better to retain the wavering cities in their duty, ſupplied them with money, and took care to provide for the remaining garriſon, which were now the only hopes and ſtrength of France. He furniſhed Tournay and Liſle, which were the principal French garriſons, with proviſions, and all other neceſſaries for defence, in caſe of a ſiege; and commanded the remains of the French troops which had eſcaped out of the battle, to make a ſtand there. He exhorted the magiſtrates to perſevere in their allegiance to the king, and the people to continue in due obedience; and privately reprimanded the colonels, who had too haſtily quitted their old works near Helchin.

In this declining fortune of France, the marſhal de Vendoſme, who had acquired an exalted reputation with all men in Italy, was ſent for into Flanders by his king; who highly and publicly praiſed his conduct after the proſperous battle of Caſſano, in order to inſpire his diſheartened ſoldiers with freſh courage.

When the duke of Marlborough came to Helchin, where their huts were made of twigs, the earl of Albemarle was ſcarcely in his quarters, before a fire broke out in an old kitchen, which burned down the whole houſe. To this camp at Helchin came the prince royal of Pruſſia, to haſten the march of the Pruſſian troops, and at the ſame time to excuſe their coming ſo late. The duke of Marlborough went a great way from his camp to meet him; and entertained him with a review of the whole army. The people of Holland entertained various opinions concerning this tardineſs of the Pruſſians; whether it was to be imputed to accident and the will of God, or to the want of counſel, was uncertain. The common opinion indeed which paſſed moſt current among the multitude, was, that the king of Pruſſia had an eye in it to the ſtadtholderſhip of Holland, and that if the battle of Ramillies had been unſucceſsful, he would have immediately entered upon king William's inheritance. But I can hardly think any king would by force of arms ſeize upon what he was already ſuing for at law, before he knew what judgment would be given in it: and eſpecially the king

of

of Pruſſia, who poſſeſſed great favour and influence in the United Provinces, and was naturally attached to the Dutch by preſents, ancient friendſhip, and uniformity in religion.

HOWEVER, when the envoy of Pruſſia congratulated the penſionary, who was a good man, and of conſummate prudence, upon the victory, he is ſaid to have made anſwer, that "he took his congratulation very "kindly, and was only ſorry that his maſter had not a ſhare in the vic-"tory." But, leſt the ſuſpicion of this matter ſhould ſpread, the king himſelf came the next ſummer into Holland; and according to the ancient friendſhip and alliance between them, was entertained by the ſtates-general with great magnificence.

MUCH about the ſame time the lord Halifax, who in the beginning of the ſpring had been ſent by queen Anne to the elector of Hanover, as we have ſhewn above, having ſucceſsfully performed his embaſſy, and afterwards conferred with the ſtates-general upon matters of great importance, came to the duke of Marlborough's camp, and the army was drawn out in review before him. In his return from the camp he would have aſſuredly been plundered by ſome huſſars, if he had not, with his wonted preſence of mind, drawn up the few guards who attended him into an appearance of a larger number, by which device he eſcaped the ſnare. But brigadier-general Cadogan, being ſent out with a party of obſervation, and proceeding too far from the foragers, fell into an ambuſcade of the enemy, and being taken priſoner, was carried to Tournay; but was ſoon diſcharged on a cartel for the exchange of priſoners.

ABOUT this time the marſhal de Vendoſme being ordered from Italy into Flanders, came with all poſſible ſpeed to the French camp, to take the command of the army in Flanders. Thus the French king thought to reſtore his ſhattered fortune, and to inſpire his ſoldiers with freſh courage by the means of the marſhal de Vendoſme, as if he had been the preſerver of France; which he expreſſed in his letters to that commander, promiſing himſelf great ſucceſs from his prudent exertions. Great was the expectation of Vendoſme in the camp; for, in noveltics, Vendoſme in Flanders.

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novelties, fame is commonly apt to exceed the truth. The duke of Marlborough had no ſooner intelligence of Vendoſme's arrival, than, that he might not anſwer all that the French ſo eagerly expected of him, he ordered general Saliſch to lay ſiege to Menin; having firſt broke the reſervoirs of water higher up the Lys. As ſoon as the military ſtores and cannons from Holland were brought up in veſſels to Courtray, the duke of Marlborough extended the left wing of his camp towards Menin, in order to cover the ſiege; and ſent another detachment thither, under the extraordinary command of the duke of Argyle, who had lately given ſuch proofs of his courage in the ſiege of Oſtend. Menin, therefore, which for its extent was the beſt fortified town in all Flanders, and built according to the art of monſieur de Vauban, was beſieged by the confederates, and the trenches opened on the 4th of Auguſt. When they had tried the ground, the beſiegers were at great pains to carry on their ſaps, and to work their mines: for the works being ſunk very deep, and the town covered with fortifications on the outſide, the beſiegers were forced to carry on their trenches to the very top of the counterſcarp, before the cannons could be planted againſt the walls. The garriſon was not wanting in any point to make a gallant defence. General Saliſch, not fearing any hurt from the enemy to his party, did not draw any lines of circumvallation, not regarding the enemy's light ſallies: for he well knew that the duke of Marlborough, whoſe name and authority were almoſt alone ſufficient to check the boldneſs of their army, would take care that he ſhould not be overmatched with any ſuperior force. The mines therefore being finiſhed, and the ſaps alſo carried on to the ſalient angles of the counterſcarp, on the 18th an aſſault was made both on the right and left; wherein the earl of Orkney gave great proofs of his courage. The fight there was long and bloody: at length the beſieged were, by the valour of the confederates, forced, to quit the covered way: but the beſiegers, not being able in two hours time to cover themſelves, were ſeverely galled from the enemy's works, and thereby expoſed to a great ſlaughter. The watch tower alſo gave the confederates much trouble; which they found it neceſſary to make themſelves maſters of in the firſt place: but when they were poſſeſſed of that, and had made a way into the ditch, general Saliſch forced the

town to ſurrender on the 22d; and therefore the duke of Argyle, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner at the ſtorming of the counterſcarp, taking poſſeſſion of the guards of the gates on the 23d, made himſelf maſter of the fort. The French marched out on the 24th, and the command of the garriſon, in which there was found a vaſt quantity of warlike ſtores and proviſions, was given to major-general Welderen. Menin taken;

When the approaches of the beſiegers were levelled, and the fortifications repaired, brigadier-general Meredyth, who had been left ſome time ago to block up Dendermond, wrote now to the duke of Marlborough, that the town, which was ſituated in a marſhy ſoil, and ſurrounded with water, was reduced to the want of every thing. On this intelligence, general Churchill, who was alſo governor of Bruſſels, was ordered thither, to lay cloſe ſiege to it. And now when the town was ſorely preſſed, and the duke of Marlborough had come to take a view of it, the governor gave the ſignal to treat about a ſurrender; and the town was yielded up to the confederates on the 29th of Auguſt, ſoon after the duke of Marlborough's arrival; but without any terms, becauſe the garriſon had before refuſed thoſe which they now demanded. and Dendermond;

After the reduction of Dendermond, the velt-marſhal D'Auverquerque went to Aeth, and inveſted it on the 20th day of September. The works were ſoon finiſhed; and the confederates took the covered way, without any conſiderable loſs, and ſheltered themſelves there. After this they prepared to attack the glacis of the counterſcarp; on the ſight of which the garriſon ſurrendered without any terms, and the town ſubmitted to king Charles on the 30th day of September. and Aeth.

The marſhal de Vendoſme, fearing leſt the city of Mons ſhould alſo fall into the hands of the confederates this ſummer, ſent thither freſh reinforcements: for ſuch a conſternation at that time poſſeſſed the enemy, that they were afraid of every thing, and did not well know where to remain, or whither to go, for nothing was able to ſtand before the confederates wherever they went: but as the rainy ſeaſon

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rendered all the roads impaſſable; ſo the approach of winter, and the fatigue of the ſoldiers with the battle, and the hard ſervice of the ſiege, inclined them to go into winter quarters, that the ſoldiers might have ſome reſt and refreſhment. The duke of Marlborough wiſhed to have undertaken another ſiege; but the continuance of the rain made it impracticable. The winter quarters were ſo diſpoſed, that a complete army could be drawn together in twenty-four hours, either to act defenſively or offenſively againſt the enemy: this diſpoſition being made, the forces all went out of the camp to their reſpective quarters, as they were ſeverally ordered.

As ſoon as the army was ſeparated into winter quarters, the duke of Marlborough went to Bruſſels: when he arrived there, he aſſembled the ſtates, and recommended to them to maintain their liberty according to their ancient rights, and the cuſtoms of their anceſtors; and did not require any thing more of them, than that they ſhould immediately recall their troops which were in the French ſervice, and raiſe what forces they were able, and aſſeſs the money for the ſervice of the war as uſual upon their ſeveral towns and provinces. The tax impoſed upon their lands by the French, was remitted to them; by which relief the country people in Flanders were ſo much comforted, that they rejoiced and triumphed in the enjoyment of their religion and laws. Theſe, and other things, for the good government of thoſe provinces, the duke of Marlborough permitted them in a common council of the ſtates of Brabant and Flanders, in conjunction with the deputies of England and Holland.

After the duke had ſtaid at Bruſſels three days, he went from thence to the Hague; where he received the congratulations of all ranks of people on the victory at Ramillies, and other ſucceſſes of the campaign; and thoſe of the Flemings, on the happy ſettlement of the provinces. Thoſe people, ſeeing what towns he had conquered, whom he had ſpared, and what he had left them, how careful he had been of his men, and how gentle towards the conquered enemy, beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on his clemency and moderation. Nevertheleſs, thoſe who envied him at home, while he was doing ſuch glorious actions abroad,

abroad, endeavoured to turn all his public ſervices to his own diſhonour. But though he had a due regard for himſelf, as all prudent men ought to have, yet, being conſcious that he had always preferred the public good to all private conſiderations, he ſupported himſelf with the comfort of a good conſcience, and did not think it worth his while to vindicate himſelf againſt the malice of his enemies; and, as his lady had not now ſo great an influence over the queen as formerly; and as he underſtood that quarrels often broke out among the women at court, in which his conduct and character were traduced, and that ſome people alſo unworthily endeavoured to inſtil ſuſpicions in the queen, he reſolved patiently to bear thoſe domeſtic reproaches alſo, as well as to deſpiſe thoſe of the ignorant multitude. But he adviſed his lady not to entertain any paſſionate reſentments againſt the queen and her miniſters: however, ſhe was always importunate to bring the queen, however reluctant, into her ſentiments.

After the victory obtained by the confederates at Ramillies, the French king, having ſhut up all the avenues towards Piedmont, to prevent the duke of Savoy from receiving intelligence of what had paſſed in Flanders, now, upon the turn of the times, ſent privately a truſty meſſenger, in the month of May, to that prince, whom, but lately, he had taken a reſolution to deſtroy; in hopes to gain him over to his intereſt, upon any terms, or at any price, and to draw him off from the confederates, before the news of the action in Flanders could reach his ears: for all the roads towards that country were filled with French garriſons. He therefore made an offer to the duke, of Milan, and a large ſum of money, for repairing the damage of his fortifications. But the duke of Savoy, not knowing whence this ſudden change in the French king proceeded, or what the matter was, rejected all his propoſals; ſuſpecting that the king had not taken thoſe meaſures out of good-will to him, but through the neceſſity of his own affairs: but at length he underſtood, by the way of Germany, how matters went; and therefore this attempt upon him was to no purpoſe: and ſuch was the ſteadineſs and conſtancy of the duke of Savoy at that time, that he reſolved to hazard the laſt extremity, rather than to revolt from the emperor. Upon this, the French king immediately

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Turin beſieged.

ordered the duke de la Feuillade to lay ſiege to Turin. In the end of May the duke ſat down before that city; and the lines of circumvallation being finiſhed, and a large quantity of proviſions brought to the camp, he ordered the workmen, of whom he had got four thouſand together, to begin the works on the ſecond day of June. In the mean time he ſent to the duke of Savoy, offering letters of ſafe conduct, or a guard, to the dutcheſs of Savoy and her children, if they thought fit to retire from the city. The duke returned thanks to Feuillade; but made anſwer, "that he would take care of the ſafety "of his wife and children, when there ſhould be occaſion." Feuillade then having got all his works perfected on the 8th of June, began to cannonade the citadel; and the next day threw red-hot balls out of his mortars into the city and the duke's palace. On the ſight of this, the duke of Savoy, thinking it not adviſable to remain longer in the city, ſent his dutcheſs, mother, and two ſons, yet but infants, with all their weak retinue, to Quieras, on the 16th of June: after which he alſo left the city himſelf, and went to his army; where, putting himſelf at the head of his horſe, he endeavoured to haraſs the enemy. Eight hundred cavalry, who were left in the camp at Montcalier, having advice that the French were approaching, quitted that place, and returned to the camp at Carmagnole. As ſoon as the duke of Savoy underſtood that the enemy intended to fight, he drew off his forces from thence to Quieras; leſt, if he ſhould venture a battle, ſome diſaſter might befall him before prince Eugene could come up to his aſſiſtance. In the mean time, his only hope was in holding out the ſiege: the corn now began to ripen; and want was rendered tolerable by expectation.

FROM Quieras the duke ſent his dutcheſs and children into the territories of Genoa, by the way of Mondovi. The French eagerly purſued them: but this tender company eſcaped the purſuers hands by a ſpeedy flight. Thus Genoa, of which the duke of Savoy, not long before, had a deſign to have made himſelf maſter, was now the only ſafe retreat for his family; but if he had then accompliſhed his deſign, there had been no hopes of ſafety left them: ſo that all men might now perceive God's ſingular providence over mankind, and how wiſely

wiſely he governs the world. The ſtates of Genoa received the dutcheſs of Savoy with great kindneſs and liberality, and ſupplied her with all neceſſaries for her accommodation: theſe good offices impreſſed the duke with ſuch ſentiments of gratitude, that he declared he would forget all former injuries, and diſclaim all his pretenſions of right over them.

The duke de la Feuillade, wearied with following the duke of Savoy every where, returned to Turin on the 5th of July, in order to receive at the camp the duke of Orleans, to whom, on the duke de Vendoſme's coming to Flanders, the French king had given the command of his forces in Italy: for as he was the king's nephew, and of a genius naturally ſublime, and improved by all kinds of knowledge, and eminently diſtinguiſhed by his high ſpirit and great courage, the king had hitherto thought it neceſſary to keep him out of the army at home, as knowing him to be fond of change, ambitious of power, and of great authority among the people of France: but in this time of neceſſity, he was prevailed upon by the entreaties of his nephew, to ſend him into Italy, to command his army there.

The duke de la Feuillade was now carrying on the ſiege with great vigour; but the count de Thaun, whom the duke of Savoy had left in the command of the place, perceiving that the enemy made their greateſt efforts againſt the citadel, was not deficient in any reſpect to make a gallant defence, and was always on his guard. A wonderful alacrity appeared among the citizens, who were in arms, notwithſtanding that they had never been exerciſed to fight, nor uſed to war before. On the 4th of Auguſt the beſiegers made an aſſault upon the outworks of the citadel; of which they made themſelves maſters, with the loſs of many of their men. Soon after this the beſieged ſetting fire to a mine, blew up ſeveral of the enemy's cannons planted on a battery; and the like they did alſo with great ſucceſs in other places; and often by undermining them, ſet the enemy's works on fire, and overthrew many of their guns. On the 26th of Auguſt the beſiegers endeavoured to take two ſtrong counter-guards: but the defendants, who

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who had retired to a horn-work, made ſuch a ſlaughter among the aſſailants, that they were repulſed without having done any thing.

On the laſt day of Auguſt the French returned to renew their aſſault upon the ſame places; being inſpired with freſh courage on the arrival of the duke of Orleans: but the defendants throwing down from the walls fire-balls, and other combuſtible materials, upon the enemy's works, repulſed them again with a greater ſlaughter than before. The beſieged now began to be greatly ſtraitened for ammunition, and eſpecially powder. The duke of Savoy contrived to convey ſome bags of powder into the city from the Capuchins-hill, down the ſtream of the Po: but when that contrivance was diſcovered, the duke de la Feuillade ordered the city to be inveſted alſo with a great number of forces, on the ſide next that hill: whereby the French army was much weakened, and their camp divided on both ſides of the Po; but the city was at laſt reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

As ſoon as prince Eugene had notice of the enemy's progreſs, and the danger to which the duke of Savoy was reduced, he came up to his forces which had lately been repulſed at the Alps, after the battle of Caſſano. Eugene declared that he would march to the fartheſt part of all Italy, in order to ſuccour the duke of Savoy; as he alſo told the Venetians, with whom he held long conferences about redreſſing the injuries done by the ſoldiers, and for the purpoſe of perſuading them to take part with the confederates. He ſaid, he would open himſelf a way through the midſt of the enemy: nor was this a vain boaſt; for he broke through the lines which the duke de Vendoſme had drawn from the mountains to the ſea, through the Venetian territories, and immediately began his march. Advancing now in military order, he preſſed cloſely on the lately victorious enemy, by the way of Modena, Reggio, and the ſtreights of Stradella. The enemy gave way, abandoned their works, and fled before him. Prince Eugene marched on, and after a journey of two hundred miles, which he performed in the ſpace of thirty days from his departure from the Venetian Alps, he brought all his forces into the duke of Savoy's country. And thus, by a march of thirty-four days, either ſurmounting or deſpiſing all difficulties,

difficulties, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Turin on the 27th day of Auguſt; about which time the duke of Orleans alſo joined the duke de la Feuillade in the French camp.

After the enemy had fortified all the rivers, paſſes, and avenues to their camp, and kept themſelves cloſe within their works, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, reſolving to loſe no time, drew out their forces on the 1ſt of September, to intercept a detachment of the enemy, which was to convey thirteen hundred laden mules from Suſa to their camp. They therefore paſſed the Po, and routed the enemy's convoy at Pianeſſa, took eight hundred of the laden mules, and picked up the reſt that were diſperſed the ſame night. On the 6th of September they paſſed the river Doire, and encamped themſelves between the leſſer Doire, and the greater Doire or Sture; ordering their men to lie that night under arms, with the Doire on their right-hand, and the Sture on their left. On the 7th of September, as ſoon as it was light, they paſſed by La Venerie, marching after the manner of a flight; and, turning towards the mountains, as if they had been going off towards Jvrea, they returned ſuddenly into the plains where they ſat down over-againſt the enemy; who, being ſtrongly entrenched, kept within their camp.

The duke of Orleans, judging the ſafety of France to depend upon that critical juncture of time, called a council of war, and demanded every one's opinion what was beſt to be done. In the mean time, the beſiegers were either firing the city, or continually, day and night, attacking the works, and endeavouring to demoliſh and deſtroy the fineſt part of the city with red-hot balls. They alſo ruined the pleaſant walks of the Valentines, adorned with rows of lofty trees, without the city. The French alſo added paliſades and parapets in many places to their former works; and formed their army ſo cloſe together in their camp that there was not room enough to fight. The confederates drew up their forces before their camp; while the French were hotly debating among themſelves, whether they ſhould fight in their camp, or before it. The duke of Orleans inſiſted, that they ought to march out of their camp; but the marſhal de Marſin was againſt

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againſt it, and produced the king's commands in ſupport of his own opinion; for which the duke of Orleans, and moſt of the other general officers, were very much diſpleaſed with him.

Battle of Turin.

THE prince of Anhalt, who commanded the centre of the confederate army, made the firſt onſet, while the enemy, through their own diſſentions and obſtinacy, had reduced their affairs to great danger; but he was repulſed by them. Now he performed the part of a general in rallying his ſcattered troops, as he had done that of a ſoldier in the fight, and renewed the attack, but was repulſed again. However, perceiving the enemy running together, and unſettled, as is commonly the caſe with thoſe who take their meaſures on ſudden emergencies, he returned a third time to the attack, broke through and made himſelf maſter of their works; and now his forces entering, made a briſk aſſault upon the enemy, and cut them to pieces. About the ſame time, prince Eugene, who commanded the left, impatient of delay, led up his men with great alacrity to the French camp. When he had forced this, and made way for his horſe to enter, he fell upon the main body of the enemy; being followed by all the German horſe, whoſe firſt attack the French were ſcarce able to ſtand. Prince Eugene left ſpaces between his ſquadrons to receive the battalions of his foot; and, as ſoon as they were drawn up in order, he preſſed very hard upon the enemy. The duke of Savoy himſelf, advancing on the right, and eager to engage, charged the enemy, whom he routed, and put to flight.

AND now the enemy's camp being forced in three places, all things there began to fall into tumult and confuſion. And when the confederates preſſed on, the enemy, to avoid a cloſer engagement, could hardly think which way to run firſt, or what to have recourſe to for help. The French betook themſelves to a haſty flight. The beſieged, ſallying out at all the gates, purſued the flying enemy with five-hundred horſe. But as the French were not able to make a ſtand any where, ſome fled into France, others into Italy; every one making the beſt of his way, as faſt as their horſes could carry them. The duke of Orleans, through the fatigue of the day, and two wounds, being diſabled from keeping this poſt any longer, took his coach,

but was for ſome time uncertain which way to fly; but, at laſt, he ſet out towards France, with a few followers, in order to defend the frontiers, and to put ſome ſtop, if poſſible, to the tide of adverſe fortune.

The whole French army being now broken, thoſe who were in the little camp on the other ſide of the Po, ſeeing what had happened, and fearing leſt their own retreat ſhould be cut off, left their camp in a body, and retired to the interior parts of Italy. The marſhal de Marſin, who was an active man and of undaunted courage, made a ſtand againſt the prince of Anhalt in the midſt of the army; where, deſpairing of victory, he performed the part of a ſoldier rather than that of a general; and having received many wounds, died in a neighbouring monaſtery the next day after he was taken in the battle.

In the duke de la Feuillade's camp, an immenſe quantity of baggage and military proviſions was found, which came ſeaſonably to the relief of the beſieged, who were reduced to the laſt extremity, and had long been in want of every thing neceſſary for the ſupport of life, as well as for the uſe of the war. Of the enemy there were five thouſand ſlain in the battle; the French, including priſoners, loſt thirteen thouſand in all on that day; with two hundred and fifty-five cannon, a hundred and fifty-eight mortars, nine thouſand great ſhot, thirty-two thouſand ſmaller ſhot, forty-eight thouſand cannon-balls, a thouſand and four cheſts of ſmaller bullets, and eighty-ſix thouſand barrels of gun-powder, five thouſand horſes or mules; military treaſure, computed at three millions of livres, and two hundred and fifty colours and ſtandards: by which ſtores, the Savoyards, who were lately in a miſerable condition, were ſupplied even to luxury; and it is plain alſo, that the French had entertained no fear of ſucceſs in the ſiege.

As the relief of Turin was juſtly aſcribed to prince Eugene, ſo was the defence of it, for four whole months, to count Thaun: whereby both of them acquired immortal glory; and the duke himſelf, by the ſole remembrance of this ſiege and victory, conſecrated an everlaſting remembrance of his name.

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THE marquis de Langallerie, a ſharp, bold, and paſſionate man, who, on a controverſy which he had with monſ. de Chamillard, had lately quitted the French king's army, and come into the emperor's ſervice, diſtinguiſhed both his courage and fidelity in this battle, and Bonnevall, another Frenchman, who was alſo involved in the ſame misfortune, a man of learning, as well as of a warlike diſpoſition, took his own brother priſoner in the battle

Turin relieved.

THE duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, entering Turin in triumph the ſame night after the battle, and lodged there; and when they had reſted there two nights, and refreſhed their ſoldiers, they marched into the dutchy of Milan, whither the French had fled in a ſtraggling manner through Italy; having ſent their horſe in purſuit of ſuch of the enemy as had taken the road towards France by the Alps; but this being done too late, the horſe returned to the camp.

ABOUT this time, the prince of Heſſe and count Medavi fought with various ſucceſs at the river Minchio. And not long after, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene paſſed the Taro, and ſoon over-ran all Lombardy. Having ſent ſixty cannon before down the Po, they took Aleſſandria, Padua, and Mortara. They took the garriſon of Tortona ſword in hand; they forced Piſtilio to ſurrender; and Caſal, being deſerted by the French, was left to the mercy of the duke of Savoy the conqueror. In this camp the earl of Peterborough appeared, being no longer employed in the war in Spain. And other garriſons of leſs note were reduced to the emperor's obedience, rather by the fear of the conqueror than by arms.

AFTER theſe things, prince Eugene laid ſiege to the caſtle of Milan; and when it had made a ſtout reſiſtance for ſome time, the French king, now weary of the Italian war, treated ſecretly with the emperor Joſeph for a ceſſation of arms in Italy, which was welcome news to the Italians, who think themſelves exceedingly happy when they are freed from war. But as much as they were eaſed from the burden of war, they were oppreſſed with that of taxes, under the name of tribute to the emperor, which was impoſed upon the ſeveral princes

and ſtates; and how much more miſerable a condition they were now in, will be ſeen by and by. An agreement then was made for a truce between the emperor and the French king; and that the French troops ſhould evacuate Italy. This treaty was contained in a few articles: and thus, without much trouble, an affair of great importance was concluded by the emperor alone, contrarily to his former oath; whereby he had obliged himſelf not to deſert his allies, nor to make any ſeparate treaty without their conſent. The principal articles were; 1ſt, That count Medavi ſhould put Mantua, Cremona, the caſtle of Milan, and the other fortified places in Italy, into the emperor's hands: and, 2dly, That count Medavi ſhould have leave to depart with the French troops in ſafety out of Italy. This truce was ſigned at Milan, 13th March, 1707; to which the duke of Savoy was alſo a ſubſcriber. As ſoon as the terms of agreement were ſettled, they were performed. The emperor's ſafe conduct was delivered to count Medavi: and, on the other hand, the count delivered up the places above-mentioned to the imperialiſts, and departed peaceably out of Italy, at the head of an army of thirteen thouſand men; without the leaſt mention of the princes of Italy, any more than the Italians had formerly made of the Sicilians, whom they called cattle; and ſo neither did the French king give himſelf any trouble about what might become of them.

Italy evacuated by the French.

The Italians being thus left for a prey to the emperor, the duke of Parma managed his own matters privately with his Imperial majeſty, and was reconciled to him, through the interceſſion of the empreſs dowager, his mother. The duke of Mantua, who at this time durſt not open his mouth, was now reduced to a miſerable condition. His goods were ſold by the emperor, and he had been formerly diveſted of his territories by the French king: he therefore retired to Padua, and ſpent the reſt of his days in that ſanctuary. Within a few years after his going thither, being deſtitute of all hope, as well as deprived of his fortune, he fell into a grievous diſtemper, of which he died, exclaiming againſt the French treachery, and loading that whole nation with curſes. The young prince of Mirandola was alſo proſcribed, and went into France, where he ſerved in the wars for pay, and his territories being

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confiſcated by the emperor, were put up to ſale by auction; no regard being had either to his dignity, or his youth, or his ancient family. The blame of theſe ſales was laid upon Count de Lambergh, who was an upſtart, and a minion to the emperor Joſeph; and alſo upon the duke of Modena, who would have had the damage which he had ſuſtained by the French, repaired to him by the prince of Mirandola; as if that prince had been anſwerable for the damage done to any body by the French king, without having had any ſhare in it. But, right or wrong, it was all one to Joſeph; who, finding it neceſſary to make up the duke of Modena's loſſes, thought it moſt convenient for himſelf to do it at the expence of others; and though the territories of Mirandola were of the greater value to the duke of Modena, on account of their near neighbourhood, yet they were ſold to him the cheaper.

But this ſale of Mirandola was by many looked upon only as a pretence to give the emperor an opportunity to gratify his friends. It is certain, all the princes of Italy were diſpleaſed with the ſale; eſpecially cardinal Picus Mirandola, a man of great integrity of life, and ſingular endowments of mind, whoſe own proper rights and patrimony were not excepted out of the proſcription. He commenced a proceſs at law at Vienna, both in his own name and that of his nephew, which he addreſſed to all princes, and afterwards took care to have it laid before the plenipotentiaries aſſembled at Utrecht, by a certain perſon; who, being admitted to the conferences about this matter, ſpake what he thought fit to count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary; but neither the pope's requeſt, nor any equity of man, could procure any relief for the prince of Mirandola.

The Engliſh alſo and the Dutch, who knew how matters ſtood between them and the emperor, and how detrimental this truce and the ceſſation of arms concluded on in Italy might be to them, took it extremely ill: wherefore the Dutch adviſed the confederates to make a ceſſation of arms in Spain alſo; and if the French king would have them grant him a ſuſpenſion of arms in Italy, they thought he would grant them the like in the Spaniſh war; which they were now inclined

to

to aſk of the French king; and that too, wiſely enough, if the ſtate of affairs at that time would have allowed it: for as the war in Italy had drained France of her money, ſo that in Spain, had drained England and Holland; on which account loud complaints were made both of the luxury and idleneſs of the army in Spain, as well of the difficulties in carrying on the war in thoſe parts; which, it was ſaid, was a mere waſte of the public treaſure. But now there was, not without reaſon, great complaint of the waſte of money, after the French king had put an end to the war in Italy, and the Engliſh had no hopes of doing the like in Spain; where, beſides the immenſe charge of the navigation, the army could neither be drawn together, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the country, without great expence and trouble, nor, when drawn together, could, on account of the heats and fatigues, be able to fight with ſuch vigour and alacrity as is uſual in Germany and Flanders. How ſmall a matter ſoever this truce in Italy might be, the miniſtry in England, as well as the Dutch, foreſaw, that it would open a way to great miſchiefs. But they neither could deſert Spain, by reaſon of their promiſe made to king Charles, leſt they ſhould fail in their part of this, which was the principal part of the whole war; nor could they prevent the truce in Italy, made by the emperor Joſeph, who thought himſelf alone at liberty to do what he liſted. Joſeph being quite a different character from his father or brother, and having abandoned himſelf to the love of pleaſure, the confederates foreſaw that the terms of the alliance would be violated, and the common cauſe be brought into danger: for he gave himſelf up to players, huntſmen, prize-fighters, and muſicians, the inſtruments of his baſe pleaſures, ſo as to admit them into his conſultations, and to intruſt them with the management of the war. Nor did he take the leaſt care of his brother's intereſt: but carrying all things with equal indolence and inſolence, he provoked his neighbours with freſh injuries; ſo that every thing at Vienna began to go faſt to ruin. At length a great affront being there put upon the king of Sweden's ambaſſador to the emperor, for which, when complaint was made, the emperor refuſed to make him ſatisfaction, the Swede at this time led his army out of Poland into Sileſia, in order to bring the emperor to reaſon. Of this heroic prince we ſhall here give a ſhort account.

CHARLES

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Affairs of Sweden.

CHARLES XII, king of Sweden, had not arrived at the age of manhood, when he was attacked by three powerful princes, and had acquired great glory in war, by actions worthy of the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. The czar of Muſcovy, and the kings of Poland and Denmark, without having received any provocation from the Swede, formed an alliance, and entered his dominions with an army in 1699. The Dane firſt invaded Holſtein, and endeavoured to take the town of Teninghen. The king of Sweden, though but a mere youth, levied an army, and ſent to the princes of Lunenburg, as well as to the king of England, to ſolicit aſſiſtance. King William and the elector of Hanover, taking pity on the young king, notwithſtanding that the Swedes, both in the late war, and the treaty of Ryſwick, had favoured the French more than the confederates, diſpatched their forces to his aid both by ſea and land. Admiral Rook ſailed from England with a good fleet to the Baltic; and about the ſame time the elector of Hanover himſelf, and the duke of Zell, led an army thither, and forced the Danes to raiſe the ſiege. The Swede, reinforced with theſe ſuccours, was ſo animated, that he would immediately have routed the Dane; but king William and the elector of Hanover, who deſired only a redreſs of his injuries, obliged both thoſe kings to make a peace.

Heroic actions of Charles XII, the young king of Sweden.

AFTER this, the king of Sweden turned his arms againſt the czar of Muſcovy; and having defeated him in a battle, wherein the fury of the ſoldiers did not ſpare even the priſoners, he led his victorious and hoſtile army into Poland. He now retook the city of Revel, upon the river Weyſſel, which the Pole had taken from Sweden, and reduced it to his obedience. Thence he marched againſt the king of Poland, and proceeded to the interior parts of the kingdom, deſtroying the country, and giving orders to lay waſte all places which adhered to king Auguſtus. The Poles, hearing of the incredible valour of the Swedes, and how well they were exerciſed in arms, which, though true, were yet magnified beyond the truth by the merchants and country people, many of them at the inſtigation of the cardinal primate of the kingdom, revolted from their king, as if he had been deteſted of God and man, and would not face the Swedes. The king of

of Poland often moved his camp to avoid meeting with his enemy: but the Swede followed him cloſe; and at length overtaking him, overthrew the Poliſh troops in a battle. For when the Swedes came in ſight of them, ſuch a panic fear ſeized the whole army, that the Poles could hardly endure to look their enemies in the face, and therefore betook themſelves to flight, leaving their cannons and baggage behind them. The Saxons made a ſtand againſt the Swedes for a while; but when they had neither any hopes of victory, nor yet of ſafety in battle, they gave way, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight.

THE king of Sweden, highly elated with theſe ſucceſſes, began to think himſelf the peculiar care of Providence. He laid waſte the fields, and threatened to dethrone king Auguſtus; publiſhing a law for diſpoſing of his kingdom, and hunting him out from one place of refuge to another. He took the town of Thorn: nor was there leſs ſlaughter after the battle than in it. He ſummoned a dyet of the grandees, as uſual in Poland; and took care to get Staniſlaus immediately crowned, whom the dyet had promoted to king Auguſtus's throne, according as the king of Sweden had adjudged it.

AND now, when king Staniſlaus had begun his reign, the Poles, who are much addicted to avarice and faction, and were now alſo torn with inteſtine diſcord, ſometimes adhering to the one party, and ſometimes to the other, became all of them an eaſy prey to a foreign army

WHEN king Auguſtus could neither defend himſelf by arms, nor enjoy the kingdom in peace, by reaſon of the hatred which the clergy had conceived againſt him, he withdrew himſelf into Saxony, and was purſued by the Swede; who, ſtopping by the way between Warſaw and Dreſden, demanded ſatisfaction of the emperor for certain injuries, which was preſently given him. Upon this, the king of Sweden eſpouſing the intereſt of the proteſtants, demanded the reſtitution of their churches and privileges, and that their religion ſhould be eſtabliſhed according to the terms of the treaty of Oſnabrug; declaring, that he would not quit the dutchy of Sileſia, before theſe things

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things were done. To theſe demands alſo the emperor Joſeph agreed. After the king of Sweden had obtained this, he led his army into Saxony, where he found all things in his power.

He pitched his camp at Altranſtadt, threatening Auguſtus with impriſonment, and that he would drive him out of Saxony alſo, unleſs he would of his own accord abdicate the kingdom of Poland. When he had encamped there ſixteen months, and had power ſufficient to force Auguſtus, if he would not agree to his demands, the Auſtrians now began to ſuſpect that he had far greater deſigns in his view: for the king of Sweden levied of the Saxons corn, money, and whatever elſe he pleaſed. In the mean time he recruited his forces, and raiſed others: but he did not declare any thing of his deſigns, or of his departure from thence, nor what terms he would preſcribe to Auguſtus.

When he had depopulated the electorate of Saxony, he now alſo filled the confederates with fears, leſt he ſhould take part with the French king. At that time he would have been a very ſeaſonable auxiliary to the French, if either the low ſtate of their affairs, or the king of Sweden's nature would have permitted it: for the French laboured then under great want of money; the publick credit was alſo very low in France; and the king of Sweden and his miniſters had no confidence in their money tallies. The princes of Germany interceded with him not to kindle a war in the empire: the duke of Marlborough alſo went to him, in order to concert effectual meaſures with him. The elector of Hanover, who held a diſtinguiſhed place in the king of Sweden's favour and friendſhip, was ſcarcely able to moderate and diſſuade him from bringing all things at that time into diſorder and confuſion.

It was undoubtedly in the king of Sweden's power to determine all the diſputes and differences of the parties contending for dominion, and to have adjudged the dominions of Spain to whomſoever he would, at his diſcretion: and if he had done ſo, he would perhaps have provided better for us, than we did afterwards for ourſelves.

By

By the peace which was ſigned at Alt-Ranſtadt, 14th September 1707, the conſideration of other things being rejected, the confederates were freed from all their fears at that time: and the king of Sweden preſcribed his own terms to Auguſtus, who bound himſelf by an oath to abdicate the kingdom of Poland. He alſo gave up count Patkul, the czar of Muſcovy's ambaſſador to the Pole, into the king of Sweden's hands; whom the Swede afterwards put to a cruel death, by cutting out his tongue, and breaking him upon the wheel.

The peace of Alt-Ranſtadt.

The king of Sweden, whoſe blood ſtill boiled with revenge, after he had ſtaid the winter and all that ſummer within the confines of Germany, turned his arms againſt the czar of Muſcovy; undertaking to make his way through all the difficulties of the winter, and the roads, and even to conquer nature itſelf. The Muſcovite would not yet venture a battle with him; but in a conteſt with one who had by his induſtry ſurmounted all the oppoſition of war, weapons, countries, and climates, and even of nature too, which uſually prevails over all things, wiſely choſe to make uſe of arts rather than arms. Therefore, as he judged it impracticable to oppoſe the progreſs of the Swedes by force, when, by long marches he had advanced before them, he deſtroyed and laid waſte all the country through which they were to paſs. When the Swede was come to the Nieper, he neither oppoſed his paſſage over that river, nor attempted to hinder him from advancing farther, till he ſhould wear out his horſe by long marches, and his foot by hunger and cold: for the czar of Muſcovy aſſured himſelf that this would happen, before the king of Sweden could deprive him of his kingdom. When the Swede came to the Ukrain, thinking to ſtir up the inhabitants to ſedition, he made a ſtand, and began to lay ſiege to Pultowa. As ſoon as the Muſcovite perceived that the Swedes laboured under many inconveniences, and that they were not now the ſame men he had formerly found them, he drew up his army againſt them; and falling upon them, weakened by labour and long marches, a few days after their arrival there, put them to flight. He purſued ſixteen thouſand of them to the Nieper; who, being deſtitute of every thing, and not having any means of a retreat, laid down their arms upon the ground, and humbly begged for quarter. The king him-

Battle of Pultowa.

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ſelf, who never commanded his ſoldiers to any harder ſervice than he undertook himſelf, fighting gallantly in the battle, received a wound; and being one of the laſt of his army who quitted the field, he retreated through part of the ancient Sarmatia; and was juſt going to ſtep into a boat, which he providentially found faſtened to the bank of the Nieper, in order to croſs that river, when he happened to be diſcovered by the purſuing Muſcovites: for the king of Sweden was ſcarcely one hour before the enemy; but by means of that boat he eſcaped the danger; and making all the ſpeed he could, he came by long journeys to Bender, which city is ſubject to the province of Moldavia. The governor of the city, ſurpriſed at this ſudden event, and the ſight of a ſtrange king, being in doubt whether he ſhould receive or ſhut the gates againſt the Swede, ſent an expreſs to his emperor. The king of Sweden did the like, to notify to him his coming into that country, after the ſad diſaſter which had befallen him at Pultowa. The emperor of the Turks returned him a very civil anſwer; either becauſe he did not deſpiſe him for his misfortune, or that he thought, by the unexpected coming of the king under his protection, he ſhould be able to terminate, with the greater advantage, the differences which he had with the czar of Muſcovy. He therefore exhorted the king of Sweden to be of good cheer, under the hand of God, and gave him a kind welcome: he was furniſhed with money by the grand ſignior and the Engliſh merchants; and at laſt being provoked by the Turks, he reſiſted them gallantly, and was not afraid to fight the Turkiſh ſoldiers. The grand ſignior was highly offended at this miſbehaviour in his ſubjects, and treated the king of Sweden with great friendſhip.

The king of Sweden at Bender.

THE czar of Muſcovy, who, as we have already ſhewn, was a prince of a vaſt genius, capable of all arts and ſciences relating to either war or peace; but as yet not diſtinguiſhed for any thing, and quite unknown to the princes of Europe, who looked upon him as almoſt a barbarian, took a reſolution to viſit foreign nations in the year 1697, attended by a great number of nobles, whom he carried with him as hoſtages. The czar himſelf aſſiſted the princes and their miniſters wherever he came; and ſent his moſt ingenious young men where he thought moſt proper to improve themſelves in the arts and ſciences,

for which any country was moſt famous, and to learn their language and manners. The only charge he gave them when they ſet out was, to forbear all controverſies in diſcourſe about religion, to bear with the opinions and religious rites of the people, and to behave themſelves with complaiſance to all men every where: and that even the time they had to ſpare from their exerciſe and ſtudies might not be loſt, he adviſed them to make themſelves familiarly acquainted with men of underſtannding in uſeful arts; in all which he himſelf ſet them a good example. The czar having returned from his travels, as above related, in order to quell a ſedition of his ſubjects, not only took care to have his forces inſtructed in our diſcipline and arms, but he introduced all the arts into his dominions, and taught the Ruſſians the principles of government, thus plucking up tyranny by the roots: for having thoroughly acquainted himſelf with all the ſeveral forms, kinds, ſtates, faults, and excellencies of government, he at his return brought home with him not only thoſe rules which relate to the conduct of private life, but ſuch alſo as relate to the government of kingdoms; all which he preſcribed to his ſubjects after the manner of the ancient legiſlators, and exhibited to his barbarous ſubjects a new and moſt perfect model of government. He ſent for the profeſſors of the liberal arts far and near, and collected artiſts from all foreign countries, beſtowing upon them great rewards and privileges. And removing all inducements to fraud, he eſtabliſhed commerce alſo, and rendered it eaſy to the merchants; and that the roads too might be ſafe and convenient for travellers, he founded and built ſeveral cities. Thus he ordered all things in his government in ſuch a manner, that now the fortunes of the loweſt, as well as the rights of the great, ſeemed for the firſt time to be ſecured in Muſcovy. He likewiſe introduced new forms into his courts of juſtice; ſo that all ſuits were to be determined within a certain fixed time: and if any one had given a falſe judgment, the judge was bound to make up the loſs to the party injured. He appointed rules for behaviour to all his ſubjects, as well as diſcipline to his ſoldiers. Beſides all this, leſt the foundation of an excellent government laid by him ſhould at any time hereafter be eraſed, he either ſent young men abroad, or put them to

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proper maſters at home, for inſtruction in arts and ſciences: nor is any undertaking ſo great or ſo laudable, recorded of any prince for many ages paſt. If ever any prince deſerved the name of father of his country, that title is juſtly due to the czar of Muſcovy.

After the battle of Pultowa he had a triumph, making few examples of cruelty or contempt among thoſe he had conquered: except that he had brought with him count Piper and ſome other general officers, who were taken in the battle and the purſuit, to adorn his triumph, being deſirous now to give proofs of his clemency and moderation: but afterwards marching unadviſedly againſt the Turks, he was ſurrounded by them, and utterly cut off from all ſupplies of corn in an enemy's country: and when he was reduced by them to the want of every thing, and as it were to the very brink of ſlavery, he applied himſelf with ſuch wonderful addreſs to the arts of negociation, when he could not do any thing by acts of hoſtility, that in a few days he delivered himſelf out of this moſt deſperate ſtate, and brought off his army by capitulation: by which action the czar of Muſcovy ſeems to have equalled all the princes within our memory in the arts of war, and to have excelled them in thoſe of peace; if he had but conquered himſelf, and known how to live according to the laws laid down by himſelf, and not in an arbitrary manner.

Propoſals of peace made by France.

As ſoon as the duke of Marlborough had arrived at the Hague from the camp, the elector of Bavaria ſent propoſals of peace to him and the ſtates-general, in the name of the French king, and invited them by letters to a conference. The preſent, he ſaid, would be the only time to treat of peace, while both ſides had a confidence in themſelves, and ſeemed to be equal; and that he himſelf, by his loſſes, ought to be a ſufficient warning to both, how great the power of fortune is in war; "that if fortune inclined but a little to either ſide, he "who ſeemed to be the ſtrongeſt would not treat upon equal terms of "peace; nor be content with a juſt ſhare, while he thought himſelf in "a way to get the whole;" and therefore he exhorted them to ſpare themſelves and all Europe.

THE Dutch, in order to keep their faith according to the alliance, referred the elector of Bavaria's propoſals to the confederates in congreſs. The duke of Marlborough, and the emperor's ambaſſador, ſolidly explained the French king's deſign; that he had put the elector of Bavaria upon making this propoſal, only to avoid the preſent danger, and to extricate himſelf out of his wants, but that he gave no hopes of peace. Of the ſame opinion were Heinſius, the penſionary of Holland, Fagel, Slingerland, and many more men of great reputation for their virtue and fidelity to the public intereſt. Others of the Dutch, who were either of the French faction, or unacquainted with the ſtate of affairs, thought the propoſals of peace were not to be ſlighted; inſiſting that a conference could do no harm, and that it might be granted without any danger. But when all that were preſent were convinced that the French king was driven to this by neceſſity, and had propoſed a treaty with no other view than to diſunite the confederates, and to feed them with falſe hopes to deceive them, it was unanimouſly agreed to return the elector of Bavaria for anſwer, "That if he was deſirous to put an end to the war without much "trouble, he ſhould perſuade the French king, in the firſt place, to "propoſe his own demands, and his conceſſions to them, by way of "preliminaries;" without which they declared they would not come to any conference. The elector of Bavaria's propoſals were ſent back to him, contrarily to the inclination of ſome of the Dutch: and the duke of Marlborough agreeing with them, returned an anſwer to the elector's letters in like terms.

Rejected by the allies.

SOME of the Dutch, who were either proud of their proſperity, or in the French intereſt, by reproaches privately caſt upon their deputies and the duke of Marlborough, perſuaded the common people that the war was prolonged by the Engliſh, and that thoſe who adviſed to continue the war had a view to their own private intereſt in it. It was falſely inſinuated in whiſpers among the people at Amſterdam, at Leyden, at Utrecht, and in moſt of the other cities, that an end might now be put to the war on reaſonable terms; but that it was prolonged for the private profit of a few, that thereby they might every year *gain two per cent.* while the Engliſh hardly *paid two per cent.*

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cent. Theſe reports, and the ſeeds of diſcord which were ſown far and near, took deep root in the minds of the people, and were brought over and publickly divulged in England, which was impatient of proſperity. The French king alſo, by the means of certain perſons, repreſented to the Dutch, who had ſo often taſted of his favour, how much it grieved him, that they ſhould ſo requite him and the houſe of Bourbon, as to refuſe a conference with him about peace, and not to think fit to ſpeak and conſult with him about the common cauſe. The French king would neither recall Philip, nor offer any ſecurity that he would recall him, but would have had the whole left to himſelf; the only thing he inſiſted upon was a truce, for which he was exceedingly preſſing: but the confederates ſaid, no peace could be honourable or ſafe for them unleſs Philip were recalled.

THE duke of Marlborough having ordered his forces into their winter-quarters, had a conference with the ſtates at the Hague: and, after he had heard the opinions of many concerning the ſettlement of the government of Flanders, and the Dutch would neither yield the government to him, nor he to the Dutch, he propoſed, that Flanders ſhould rather be left to its freedom, and to be governed by its own laws, than to be treated as a nation conquered in war; for in that caſe it muſt have been reduced to the condition of a province. While theſe things were in debate among the confederates, many reports and rumours were ſpread abroad of the duke of Marlborough's aiming at the government of Flanders; and it was inſinuated, that the only reaſon why he propoſed to leave Flanders free, was, that he himſelf might the more freely exerciſe authority there, which had been ſecretly granted to him by the emperor. But to paſs by the reports of ill-deſigning perſons, whatever authority might have accrued to him in the Netherlands, he eaſily ſuffered it to be taken away from him for the ſake of the common cauſe; and he now agreed perfectly with the ſtates, as it was his intereſt to do, about ſettling the government of thoſe countries, and concerted meaſures with them for carrying on the war the year enſuing: after which he left the Hague, and ſet out for England at the end of November.

WHEN

When the duke of Marlborough arrived in England he congratulated the queen upon the victory; as did all the people in every county and burgh: and a day was appointed for a ſolemn thankſgiving to God. The queen ordered a triumph alſo, cauſing the colours and ſtandards of the enemy to be carried about in proceſſion. In remembrance of his great actions, a monument was erected to the duke of Marlborough's honour: a palace, which was by act of parliament to be built for him at the public charge. Both houſes of parliament alſo returned him thanks; and people of all ranks paid him more honour than he himſelf deſired. Above all, Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, and Sir Simon Harcourt, adviſed him to build a moſt magnificent palace; and, in order to be thought the promoters of his dignity, multiplied freſh honours upon him; but with what deſign they did this, the following times will diſcover. Many others, hoping to fill their hungry bellies by flattering him, ſtretched the truth even beyond its due meaſure, and celebrated his praiſes in the loftieſt terms both in proſe and verſe; whereby they rendered his actions leſs credible, while they meant to do him honour: for I am of opinion, that writers, in the relation of glorious actions, ought never to exceed the bounds of reality, but always carefully to avoid every thing that may ſeem incredible to the reader; leſt thoſe things which are true in themſelves ſhould be rendered doubtful by the written account of them, and the actions of great men thus be called in queſtion: for truth herſelf delights in ſimplicity; as the common people alſo are beſt pleaſed with the plain ſweetneſs of truth and nature. But Sir Iſaac Newton, maſter of the mint, did much more wiſely than thoſe flatterers; who, according to the example of all ancient times, delivered to poſterity the actions of the duke of Marlborough and England, on medals thus inſcribed:

BARCELONA LIB. GALLIS FUGATIS.
I MAIJ MDCCVI.
GALLIS AD RAMILIES VICT.
XII. MAIJ. MDCCVI.
FLANDRIA ET BRABANTIA
RECEPTA.

When

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When any one in thoſe days ſpoke of the duke of Marlborough's avarice, the lord Wharton is ſaid to have anſwered thus: "Do not "complain of this; for with ſuch fortune as he has, if he were leſs "covetous than he is, ſuch victories might bring upon us great cala-"lamities." But at that time the lord Wharton had no aſſurance of the lieutenancy of Ireland, which poſt he afterwards obtained: however, amongſt others who were advanced and raiſed to the dignity of peerage, he was promoted to the title of an earl.

Union debated in Scotland.

During theſe tranſactions in the camp, the union of the kingdoms was warmly debated in the parliament of Scotland. The duke of Queenſberry being reſtored to the office of lord high commiſſioner, made a florid ſpeech on the 3d day of October, elegantly ſetting forth all the grounds and advantages of uniting their rights and fortunes. The earl of Seafield, lord chancellor, ſpake to the ſame purpoſe. The duke of Hamilton, entering upon that queſtion, objected, that they ought not to proceed in the conſideration of the union of the kingdoms, till all the writings and records of what had formerly paſſed between them and the Engliſh, in relation to this matter, were firſt laid before them: but the lord commiſſioner's party thought fit to proceed preſently to the conſideration of the ſeveral articles of the union agreed upon in the treaty at London. Some members of the parliament redoubled their diligence, which their prudence obliged them to exert, and took care to have levies made throughout all Scotland: for the opponents of the court pretended, that they had no authority to determine concerning the alienation of the kingdom, ſince they had no delegation to that purpoſe from the free people, who had a vote in it: and inſiſted, that the commiſſioners ſent into England were neither proper judges of this matter, nor the parliament itſelf veſted with competent authority to decide in a matter of ſo great importance; but that there was a right inherent in a free people to put a ſtop to the paſſing of the law, as formerly there was in the tribunes of the Roman people. On the other ſide, the lord commiſſioner's adherents, and particularly the earl of Stair, who was famous for his fortitude and eloquence, and followed by a great number of his relations, very conſiderable for their parts and fortunes, ſaid,

"The ſupreme authority was in the parliament;" learnedly and elegantly inſiſting, "that when an election was once made, neither the "tenants of the crown, and thoſe who hold of the king in chief, nor "the magiſtrates of the cities, had any more right either to ſtop the "paſſing of any law, or to give a vote; but that the people have de-"legated all their authority to thoſe whom they have elected to re-"preſent them in parliament." This queſtion, therefore, concerning the ſupreme authority of the parliament was the ſubject of hot debates for ſome days: and when it was carried in favour of the earl of Stairs, who had great influence in the houſe, all things out of doors began to be tumultuous and diſordered. Thoſe who were outvoted, endeavoured now, by force of arms, to aboliſh the authority of the parliament; though nobody was debarred from giving his vote in it with the utmoſt freedom: but when ſome things were done that night in a hurry, the lord commiſſioner, adjourning the houſe till the next day, took his coach, and was followed with many reproaches by the people, who could hardly forbear to lay violent hands upon him. On this, the lord commiſſioner ordered a guard to be placed in the Parliament Cloſe, and his own guards to be doubled; and ſent away an expreſs with all ſpeed to court, with letters to the queen, deſiring her to diſſolve the parliament. That whole night tumults were kept up in Edinburgh, by a rabble of lacqueys and grooms, who aſſaulted and ſearched the houſe of Sir Patrick Johnſton, lord provoſt of Edinburgh; and if they had found him, they would have treated him roughly, for no other reaſon but becauſe he was ſaid to have favoured the vote in parliament for the union. The next day the tumult was appeaſed by the help of the ſoldiers. When the articles of union were read in the parliament, the duke of Hamilton, Mr. Fletcher, and Sir David Cunningham, ſet themſelves ſharply to oppoſe it; and Mr. Fletcher inveighed with great freedom againſt thoſe of the middle party. Theſe were elegantly anſwered by the earl of Stairs, who, in Scotland, was in a manner the parent of the union of the kingdoms: and when the headſtrong fury of the rabble had very much alarmed the lord commiſſioner and the chancellor, Stairs prevailed with them not to diſſolve the parliament, and pled the cauſe of the union with equal ability and fortitude. In the mean

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time there were great tumults in the country: proteſts alſo, and petitions from people of all ranks, were ſent to the parliament, not to unite the kingdoms, nor to ſuffer the dignity of the ancient and independent kingdom of Scotland to be diminiſhed: and the whole nation began tumultuouſly to run to arms, and prepared to attack the parliament-houſe.

It is very remarkable that the nobility ſhould have been the firſt who failed their country, and that the loweſt of the people, and the traders, whoſe conditions could not be the worſe for ſharing the fortunes of the Engliſh, but might probably be much bettered by the change, were the firſt that made a briſk ſtand for the name of liberty and ſovereignty. The ſeaſon of the year, indeed, and the continual rains, were a great hindrance to their attempt. It was owing chiefly to theſe that the armed people did not, on this occaſion, invade the authority of the parliament. The duke of Hamilton alſo did all he could to appeaſe the people: for though he oppoſed the union, as well from a regard to his own right, as out of envy to the duke of Queenſberry, yet he perſuaded the multitude to forbear any greater violence: and when ſome noble families had forced all their tenants and poor dependants upon their eſtates to aſſert the cauſe of their country by arms, and theſe had advanced a great way towards Edinburgh, he diſſuaded them from their enterprize; vainly thinking, only by the clamour and cries of the women, to terrify the commiſſioner and chancellor: for he was well pleaſed to ſee them purſued with hiſſings and curſes, while he himſelf was attended with the ſhouts and applauſe of the people in every ſtreet. He alſo told the people, in a ſpeech which he made to them, that he would prevent the bill from paſſing in the parliament. In November, when the firſt article of the treaty of union was read in the houſe, the duke of Hamilton taking upon him the patronage of his country's cauſe, made a long ſpeech concerning the ancient injuries done them by the Engliſh; putting the parliament in mind of the ſhameful times of Baliol, who made a ſurrender of the kingdom, and ſubmitted himſelf to the king of England; and highly applauding Bruce's great ſoul, who was not ſo ambitious of a kingdom as to give up the liberties derived from their anceſtors.

anceſtors. And the more to excite the ancient courage of the Scots, he called upon the families of Bruce, Campbell, Douglas, and many others by name, who had formerly been eminent patriots, not to deſert the cauſe of their country, now on the brink of ruin. And launching forth on this ſubject to a greater degree of freedom, he ſaid, "If "there be any who would rather tamely ſubmit to a ſhameful ſlavery, "than expoſe himſelf to honourable danger for the preſervation of "his liberty, let him take that fortune which he likes beſt. But, "ſince the dignity of this kingdom, which has deſcended to us from "our anceſtors through ſo many ages, is dearer to me than life, I "muſt defend it, and ſhall never ceaſe to love my country, till I "ceaſe to live, &c." If his words had been made good by actions, he had in one day put an end to that whole matter, which was the cauſe of much contention. But the duke of Hamilton had no ſuch intention, as to leave the ſettlement of the kingdom in the power of the people.

MANY people of all ranks abhorred the union of the kingdoms, for divers reaſons: the clergy from a dread of the biſhops in England; the nobles, ſome of them, out of a deſire of power; others, out of oppoſition to the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in England; the commons, for fear of the heavy load of taxes which were impoſed upon the Engliſh. But the multitude were, above all, againſt it, not ſo much from any motive of reaſon, as from hatred. For the very name and antiquity of the kingdom, was of great weight with the people; though what remained of it, after the removal of king James VI. into England, was no more than a vain ſhadow of a name, or a yoke of ſlavery, and image of a kingdom; ſince the government there, from that time, was left in the hands of a few, who did not always prefer the public good to their own private intereſt; and thoſe who were in the adminiſtration of the kingdom often acted according to ſuch orders as they received from foreigners: but yet the treaſury, ſuch as it was, was in the hands of the nobility; who had it alſo in their power to divide the offices of the ſtate and magiſtracy among themſelves, ſo long as the government remained entire, as the marquis of Anandale made it appear to them in the parliament. "But," ſaid the marquis, "when once "they loſe the public treaſury, they will hardly preſerve their own."

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Wherefore he entered his proteſt in parliament againſt the giving up the ſovereignty; but the marquis of Anandale freely offered to the Engliſh the power of making all leagues, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. The earls of Marr and Seafield, and many others, who had privately bargained for greater matters than could be expected while the kingdom of Scotland ſtood in ſafety, agreed to the union. The marquiſes of Tweedale and Montroſe, the earls of Roxburgh, Rothes, and Haddington, Mr. John Cockburn, and Mr. Haldane, and others, were alſo for the union; who, though they made a ſpecious pretence of the public good, yet had an eye, in the midſt of the public affairs, to their private intereſt.

They concerted meaſures with ſome in England; and in the parliament of Scotland they ſaid, "The iſle of Britain is one contiguous land, and of the ſame climate and ſoil. If the inhabitants have different laws and languages, that is to be aſcribed to the introduction of foreigners, and not to the nature of the country. And, the two kingdoms having been in reality joined together formerly, all that now remains for us to do, is, to lay aſide all vain names of diſtinction; ſo that both nations may be united together, and confirmed in one common bond of ſociety and government. Though we have many grounds of complaint againſt the court of England, yet we have ſtill greater againſt the French." In thoſe dangerous times of war, therefore, they were for uniting Scotland and England by a public act of law, rather than that both nations, by their civil diſcords, ſhould become a prey to the French king.

At that time there were Scotſmen of both parties of unqueſtioned probity and courage, who, without being corrupted by rewards, ſpake their own ſentiments with great freedom, and who cannot be charged with having received a penny on that account to this day. Wherefore, out of twenty thouſand pounds, which were remitted to him out of the Engliſh treaſury, the lord commiſſioners ordered twelve thouſand pounds to be laid up in the treaſury, after the buſineſs of the union was completed, ſince he had nobody to give it to.

This

THIS reſtitution of the public money ſeemed to be a new thing afterwards, even to thoſe who inſpected the public accounts of Great Britain, and others, who thought nothing was concluded in the parliament, how beneficial ſoever, without a previous conſideration of advantage. But yet, I make no doubt, but the lord commiſſioner did, at that time, deal with the members of the Scots parliament by courtſhip, promiſes, ſolicitations, hopes, threatenings, and even with rewards and money, as certain writers have related; eſpecially as the French king oppoſed the union to the utmoſt of his power: and the Dutch alſo, who looked upon the uniting the two kingdoms as a matter of ſo great importance to them, that they intended to have laid out a ſum of money to prevent it. When Mr. A—— C—— ſaw, that the Dutch were bent upon that buſineſs, he uſed all the arguments he could, to diſſuade them from it: however, it is certain, they looked upon the union of the kingdoms with an evil eye. The lord commiſſioner was therefore forced to uſe all ſorts of means in dealing with the Scots, when he had not only theſe obſtacles to encounter abroad, but found himſelf obliged alſo to work with unwilling inſtruments at home.

WHAT ſome of the Scottiſh writers of the French faction have ſo loudly reported, of the ſolicitations uſed with the noblemen, and the favours conferred upon them by the queen, I very much doubt, ſince it is plain they wrote with a ſlanderous intention. And, farther, I would rather queſtion the credit of the earl of Glaſgow, and all the examiners of the public accounts at that time, than leſſen the honour of ſo many honourable men. And, as in the caſe of the duke of Athol, they ſay, "One ſwallow makes not a ſummer;" ſo the ſingle teſtimony of the earl of Glaſgow, in a matter of ſo much impudence, ought not to give credit to ſuch an accuſation. It is certain alſo, that this Scots examiner's deſign was to caſt a blemiſh upon the noblemen in Scotland, and to ſtuff all his writings with lies, as if he himſelf had been the ſole ſupporter of the cauſe, and main contriver of the whole affair for the ſervice of the Pretender, and all that was done by others had been nothing in compariſon with his actions.

ABOUT

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About the time when the articles of union were laid before the parliament, major Cunningham, who was a man of ſingular boldneſs, and more fit for action than counſel, receiving his inſtructions from the duke of Queenſberry, and his payment from the court, having conſulted with Mr. William Cochrane, and Mr. George Lockart, undertook to raiſe the people in the weſtern parts of Scotland. When this raſh attempt was communicated to the duke of Athol, he is ſaid to have approved of it, as others alſo did when made acquainted with it. But when the day was fixed for the riſing, the duke of Hamilton, who was averſe to all ſedition, wrote to his clans, not to attempt any ſuch thing. Wherefore, when ſeven thouſand men were to have met together out of the country, there did not appear more than five hundred in arms. When this was known, and by whoſe artifices that inſurrection was both concerted and ſuppreſſed, the duke of Hamilton became ſuſpected and evil ſpoken of by his party. But, in order to remove the ſuſpicion, he concerted with his friends this more moderate method, to write to the chief of the country-gentlemen, to meet at Edinburgh with their friends and followers on a day appointed, in order to repreſent to the lord commiſſioner, and to the queen herſelf alſo, in writing, how very averſe the Scots were to an union with England. This ſcheme was approved by the duke of Hamilton, the duke of Athol, and Mr. Fletcher. But when the day was come, and many of the chiefs were aſſembled at Edinburgh out of the country, the duke of Hamilton declared to them, at their meeting, that he would have nothing to do with them, unleſs they would add a clauſe to their petition, for the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, as the Engliſh had done; to which they were extremely averſe. Upon this, the country gentlemen, wearied with delays, returned home, highly provoked at the duke of Hamilton's continual ſhifting and inconſtancy.

After this, when the parliament had advanced ſo far as to enter on the conſideration of the twenty-ſecond article, which relates to the peers, the duke of Hamilton came again to a conference with them; and now, at laſt, propoſed what he thought proper, in order to preſerve his country, as he ſaid, from periſhing. It was therefore agreed among them

them to offer their proteſt; and if it was not admitted by the parliament, that they ſhould then leave the houſe, and come no more among them. This only the duke of Hamilton again inſiſted upon, to have a clauſe added to their proteſt, for ſettling the ſucceſſion according to the eſtabliſhment in England. This the duke of Athol is ſaid to have oppoſed, as being improper. The duke of Hamilton, of whoſe unſteadineſs it were endleſs to ſpeak, inſiſted, on the other ſide, among his friends, for that clauſe as being neceſſary; under which pretence, in caſe of any unexpected turn, they might the better have defended their cauſe if they had been called in queſtion for it. But yet, his meaning is ſaid to have been ſignified in that conference, that, when they once had withdrawn themſelves from the parliament, they ſhould immediately call in the Pretender to aſſiſt them; though many people thought he was far from intending it. When the appointed day came for making their oppoſition, and entering their proteſt, the duke of Hamilton excuſed himſelf from attending the parliament, on pretence of being ſeized with a fit of the toothach. But at length, at the preſſing importunity of his friends, he attended the debates in parliament. However, having made a private agreement with the duke of Queenſberry, he refuſed to join with his friends in the oppoſition. Upon this they ſpent the time in contention among themſelves, till they had loſt the opportunity. And thus the twenty-ſecond article, which was the main point, was approved in parliament: after which, many of them entered their proteſts, that this was not in the power of the parliament, as the queſtion had not been duly propoſed; and added many other things, not neceſſary here to be mentioned. The lord Belhaven, a nobleman of very popular eloquence, made a ſpeech in the parliament, which, though conceived in uncouth terms, attracted the ears and attention of the whole houſe. Belhaven, with many groans, complained heavily of the injuries done them by the Engliſh in times paſt, and of the miſeries of the preſent government. He appealed to God and man, how dangerous the times were, and how degenerate Scotchmen were become. "There is," ſaid he, "a great difference between diminiſhing the "glory of a nation, and neglecting the ſecurity of it: the ſecurity of "all," ſaid he, "is this day delivered up, if we paſs this act; where-

"in

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" in the queſtion is not, What is the true intereſt of the kingdom? " but, Whether it ſhall continue a kingdom any longer? Alas! do " not flatter yourſelves with any hopes of private advantage, when " once ye have loſt your kingdom." He uttered many things which he apprehended in his own mind, in the moſt moving terms, and with his eyes even overflowing with tears: " I think," ſays he, " I ſee Scot- " land depopulated, and the city of Edinburgh, formerly flouriſhing, " with its courts, and a numerous train of nobility, and plenty of " all things, deſerted and reduced to a miſerable deſolation! I think I " ſee our religion overthrown, the houſe of God profaned, this our " Sion, the famous nurſery of good learning, mourning and deſpiſed, " and our lands uncultivated and barren! I think I ſee the once fa- " mous nobles of Scotland walking about under the arches, and be- " fore the doors of the palaces and courts at London, ſlighted and " neglected, weary of their lives, and galled with the remembrance " of their ancient dignity, and their loſt kingdom. Take heed, " therefore, what diſgrace, what ruin is now coming, and likely to " come hereafter upon our poſterity, by the wound which we are this " day about to give to the kingdom. All the grievances of the " kingdom may be redreſſed, and yet the kingdom be preſerved; " but the wound which you are now about to give it, can never be " healed, ſince, hereafter, there will be nothing left in your power." And then, turning his eyes towards the young noblemen, and thoſe with whom he had formerly lived in great friendſhip, he ſaid, " And " are ye alſo, O my ſons! whom I lately looked upon as the growing " hopes of Scotland; are ye, I ſay, concerned in ſuch an affair, as " even to aboliſh the ancient name of the Scots!" And though his ſpeech to this, and the like effect, was rough and unpoliſhed, yet he reaſoned ſo clearly and diſtinctly, that the Scots will never forget him, and the buſineſs of that day; and he has left behind him the cha- racter not only of a great orator, but alſo of a true prophet among the Scots to this hour. His ſpeech was refuted by the earl of Rox- burgh, in ſubſtance much more than in words; who, out of a view to his own intereſt, ſtood up for the union. Mr. Andrew Fletcher, who had formerly hazarded his life twice in defence of his country's liberty, now perceiving, that an incurable wound was given to the public

cauſe; and that Scotland was, as it were, on the point of being buried by her own people, in this extremity of danger, ſpake with great warmth, and vehemently reproached and inveighed againſt the queen's miniſters, without any regard to his own private fortune, though very large. Some there are, who ſay, that he was too hot in his arguments, and too violent in his reſentments; and that he thereby did hurt to his own cauſe. But why may not a ſon be moved at the funeral of his mother, or a good ſubject grieved at the ruin of his country? eſpecially one who had always preferred the public good to his own particular intereſt, and ſo often dared to face death for the ſake of his country. The earl of Buchan alſo, and his uncle Mr. John Areſkine argued ſtrenuouſly for the cauſe of Scotland, though they had not any thing to do with the French faction. And ſome few others, who continued firm to their duty, out of affection to their country, would rather have died than given their aſſent to the union, which they conſidered as the ſurrender of the kingdom. Though ſome of the Scots were inclined, and others averſe to the union of the kingdoms; according to the diſpoſition of their company, or the inclination of their party, whether it was of the French or the Engliſh faction, yet almoſt all of them were heard to give their votes freely according to their own minds; but I ſhall not deny, that ſome of them were impoſed upon by the court, and ſome of them gratified with rewards among ſo great a number of men, every one of whom is ſubject to his own infirmities, according to the weakneſs of human nature, and the cuſtom of the neighbouring nations. Of all the nobility, thoſe who had been but lately promoted to the peerage were moſt liable to cenſure; who had privately made ſcandalous bargains with ſome of the Engliſh, that they might ſhine with double honours in Great Britain.

Articles of the union approved.

THE articles of the treaty of union were ſeverally read and approved; of which the ſubſtance was as follows. Firſt, they agreed upon the uniting the two kingdoms, the freedom of commerce, and the proportion of taxes, and public duties; the national debts, and the manner and proportion of paying them; on which account the Engliſh were to pay the Scots almoſt a million of pounds; and the Scots were to be charged with a ſhare towards the payment of the debts of Eng-

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land. Out of this ſum, three hundred thouſand pounds were to be paid to the Scotch Indian Company, on account of the money expended by the Scots, and the intereſt thereof; which was accordingly paid at the time, in purſuance of the agreement. The remainder of the million of pounds was to be paid to the creditors of the kingdom. But, as there was not a clear eſtimate made of the debts, an addition was granted them by the Engliſh, in the name of the growing equivalent, to be paid to them every year out of the annual revenue of Scotland; but no method being preſcribed either by the Engliſh or by the Scotch parliament for ſettling the order of the creditors, who ſhould be firſt, and who laſt, many were defrauded, and the accounts were made up according to the diſcretion of the miniſtry in Scotland, wherein they took care to have themſelves placed firſt: and when there was nothing left for the laſt, theſe were put off to the growing equivalent, and all things were tranſacted by favour, without any regard to equity; inſomuch that it is incredible what corruption ſome people were guilty of in Scotland: ſince it appears, by the accounts of the treaſury, that many were paid twice over for the ſame thing. Other articles of the union were, for continuing the courts according to the cuſtoms and laws of Scotland; for preſerving the rights of the royal burghs entire; for ſecuring to the nobility their proper juriſdiction; for the right of voting; for keeping the crown and other royal enſigns of the kingdom ſtill at Edinburgh; and other things of leſs conſequence, which are the only remains of regal ſovereignty of which the Scots have to boaſt. As to the right of voting in parliament, the ſubſtance of what was concluded was, that the Scots ſhould ſend forty-five repreſentatives to the lower houſe of parliament of Great Britain, and only ſixteen peers to the upper houſe, out of all the nobility of Scotland, who were all to be choſen for three years, at the expiration of which there was to be a new election. In this point of the nobility, both the Scots and the Engliſh were guilty of a great overſight: theſe, in ſuffering the authority of the houſe of lords to be curbed by ſixteen Scotch noblemen, choſen by the influence of the court, and ſubſervient to the king's ſole will and pleaſure; and thoſe, in not providing a law to ſecure the royal prerogative, whereby the noblemen of Scotland might be called up among the other peers to parliament when the king ſhould think fit,

fit, being a privilege which the meaneſt man of both nations enjoys. Many think, that the neglect of the Scots, in not adding ſuch a clauſe, was to be imputed to ſome people's improbity more than inadvertency; who, while they were leſſening the peerage of others in Scotland, had made a private bargain for it to themſelves in England: but this not being ſufficiently minded, ſome Scotch noblemen were ſerved in their kind, and hurt themſelves, and the whole order of peerage, with the ſame darts. Who could undertake to make good ſuch a bargain? or who could anſwer for the parliament? When once the act of union was paſſed, recourſe muſt be had in all doubtful caſes to the authority of the Britiſh parliament; which, it may be preſumed, will never diminiſh its own authority; nor is to be bound by the compacts of private perſons, eſpecially in tranſactions which are in themſelves unlawful. The beſt way therefore for the Scots, would have been to have inſerted their own privileges and the royal prerogative in expreſs words, before the matter was determined, whereby they had ſecured themſelves from being hurt afterwards by any law, or mere artifice of law: for the promiſes of ſome private people in England were in vain laid by the Scots before the parliament, where the ſame plainly appeared to be contrary to law: for who could undertake that the parliament would confirm ſuch promiſes? Yet it ſeemed favourable to the Scots, that the duke of Queenſberry's patent was allowed by the upper houſe in the following parliament, whereby he was made a peer of England. The peers themſelves were judges; and therefore the Scots thought they had not only got a precedent for putting an end to this controverſy, but that the lords had thereby given judgment in it: but they were afterwards much deceived in this opinion, as appeared by the ſingle proteſt of one Engliſhman.

When all the articles of the union were well nigh having received the approbation of the Scotch parliament, the earl of Stairs, who was highly renowned for policy, civility, and parts, and by far the beſt ſpeaker in Scotland within our memory, having made a very diſtinguiſhed ſpeech in the parliament, and overſtrained his voice with great vehemence, died that night of an apoplexy, much lamented by all who wiſhed well to the union of the kingdoms. But thoſe of the other ſide inſiſted,

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ſiſted, that he was cut off by divine vengeance, that he might not outlive the glory of his country: for the former, as if they had been ſtruck by the hand of God, thought the union would not only be prevented, but that it was even at an end by his death: therefore judicious men, perceiving that they had no time to loſe, diſpatched what was yet to be done, in a few days. When all the articles had paſſed, the parliament of Scotland tranſmitted them to that of England, for their approbation.

When the articles were laid before the parliament of England, they were oppoſed by the earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham. The lord North, and many more, who joined in opinion with them, reflected upon the Scots in a cruel and bitter manner, as if they had betrayed their own kingdom to a ſurrender; and therefore looked upon them as not worthy to be truſted with the rights and privileges of the kingdom of England. Theſe were anſwered by the lords Sommers, Wharton, Halifax, Goldolphin, and others, who with one voice inſiſted, that there was no ſurrender of either kingdom; but that both would be encreaſed by an union, which our anceſtors had often very earneſtly deſired. The archbiſhop of York, who was a good man, a warm ſpeaker, but better verſed in his own proper affairs than thoſe of government, objected againſt the difference between the Scotch and the Engliſh religion; and inſiſted a long time in ſpeaking on that ſubject. "God forbid," ſaid he, "that I ſhould ever aſſent to an union with a "people who are not ſo much as initiated in chriſtianity, and are even "averſe to the Engliſh ceremonies, veſtments, prayers, and primitive "liturgies." To this the advocates for the union anſwered, "That "this meaſure related only to civil affairs; and that, if we look into "all ancient times, religion, however different, never hindered men "from entering into ſocieties, or one nation from becoming ſubject to "another, or two from uniting together in one." It is certain, that the people of Rome, in the firſt ſtages of their government, made an union firſt with the Sabines, then with the Hetrurians, and other nations: and afterwards, in the flouriſhing ſtate of their empire, they made the Gauls, Belgæ, and the Britains, partakers of all their laws; and the emperors, the Antonines, made all others alſo free of the city: which at laſt was filled with divers religions, and the images and temples of the

the Gods of other countries, before prieſts were permitted to pronounce concerning the ſalvation of mankind, and to devote their fellow-creatures to the ſhades below. And, what the parliament is now engaged in, was greatly deſired by king Henry VII. who married his daughter to the king of Scots: king Henry VIII. earneſtly purſued the ſame object by many ambaſſadors to Scotland: and queen Elizabeth, that ſhe might not drop what her anceſtors had been in purſuit of, named and declared the king of Scots her heir and ſucceſſor.

Articles of union ratified in England

AFTER much contention, the articles of union were at laſt ratified in the parliament of England, and ſent back again to Scotland. A ſharp debate now aroſe in the parliament of England, about preventing the frauds of ſome merchants: for the Engliſh, out of favour to the Scots, allowed them free liberty to bring into England the merchandize which they had in Scotland, till the firſt day of May, when the union was to take place. Upon this, many merchants in England, Germany, and Holland, projected intolerable frauds, and contrived to get a vaſt quantity of merchandize, which could not have been freely brought into England, firſt tranſported into Scotland, in order to be brought from thence into England when they ſhould ſee fit; which merchandize was chargeable with great duties in England. The fair traders in London made loud complaints of this fraud; and the matter was laid before the parliament. Mr. Robert Harley, the queen's ſecretary of ſtate, inſiſted, that the law was only made in favour of Scotſmen dwelling in Scotland; and the fair traders were of the ſame opinion: but as the houſe of lords determined it otherwiſe, many of the lower houſe were for allowing all ſorts of goods which were brought into Scotland, to be freely brought into England. This point was debated with great party heat in the houſe of commons: at laſt it was decided in favour of the inhabitants of Scotland. But this reſolution being contrary to that of the peers, the parliament was adjourned for a week, that ſome expedient might be found out to reconcile the two houſes. When the parliament met again, Mr. Secretary Harley defended, and ſtill adhered to his former opinion: and now the point being almoſt deſperate, the earl of Godolphin came to town from his country ſeat, in order to influence the

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the commons by his authority to agree with the reſolution of the peers. After the earl of Godolphin's return, the commons were brought to ſuch a temper, that a great and ſudden change appeared in their opinions; and the queſtion being put, it was carried agreeably to the opinion of the peers, contrarily to that of Mr. Secretary Harley. After this, Mr. Harley became ſuſpected by the earl of Godolphin, as Godolphin alſo was by Harley: and ſo great were their mutual reſentments, that each of them privately uſed his utmoſt intereſt and endeavours to diſgrace and almoſt to ruin the other; and both of them thought it moſt for their advantage to ſtrengthen themſelves with the friendſhip of all ſorts of people, whom they might make uſe of more or leſs, as they ſhould ſee occaſion.

When the union of the kingdoms was confirmed in the parliament, it was treated in Scotland with a general outcry and execration; but in England with congratulations. Great numbers of the Scots alſo reſorted to London, to compliment the queen on the ſucceſs of this meaſure, and to contract a friendſhip with the Engliſh. On this account, the duke of Queenſberry, who was unwilling that any of the Scots ſhould have acceſs to the queen, or to the Engliſh, but himſelf, was ſo much offended with many of them, that when he came to London he refuſed to admit any of them to diſcourſe with him, under pretence of indiſpoſition; and would have had all things carried on as before, ſolely by his own authority. A perſon who had performed a common office of civility to ſome of the Scotch nobles, by introducing them to the lord Sommers and Halifax, going to ſolicit the duke's intereſt and ſupport in their favour, in the election of the Scotch peers, was refuſed admittance: but he, who was not under any obligation to Queenſberry, nor conſcious that he had ever given him any juſt cauſe of offence, and who thought he might perform an office of civility, without diſguſting his grace, proceeded in what he had undertaken: and when he underſtood that it was in this manner the duke of Queenſberry requited the greateſt benefits, he thought it neceſſary to take other meaſures. Conſidering therefore with himſelf, that he who looked upon good offices as ill ones, might, on other occaſions, happen to look upon ill offices as good ones, he began to contrive how to get

the privy council in Scotland aboliſhed, of which the duke of Queenſberry was preſident, and this remnant of ancient tyranny removed. The next ſummer, therefore, he formed a combination of ſome of the chief of the Scots, and conſulted ſome of the Engliſh of both parties, and all thoſe who were unacceptable, diſguſted, and incenſed againſt the Queenſberian faction: and ſo faithfully was the ſecret of thoſe conſultations kept, that there was not the leaſt diſcovery made of their object till it was ready to be laid before the parliament. When at laſt it became known, the earl of Godolphin, ſeeing all the ſchemes which he had projected with ſome of the Scots diſconcerted, ſent a preſent forthwith to him who had formed the ſecret deſign againſt the council, and offered him a place if he would but diſcover all, or inform him how the combination might be broke, or a ſtop put to the controverſy. But he, who regarded nothing, not even the lord high treaſurer of Britain's ſtaff, in compariſon with fidelity to his engagements, anſwered the treaſurer's friend with great preſence of mind, "That he knew not of any wicked combination, nor yet would ever "be wanting to ſerve the public: but as to any places, preſents, or "rewards, that the lord treaſurer of Britain could beſtow upon him, "he deſpiſed them all in compariſon with his word and honour," deſiring the treaſurer's tool not to think he was treating with ſuch men as the earls of Marr or Seafield. The treaſurer's tool, highly provoked by this anſwer, rebuked his friend for preferring the public good before his own private intereſt; as if, ſaid he, forſooth, you could not fall, but the public muſt fall with you. To which the other replied, "we muſt perform our promiſes. There are ſome, "indeed, who think they might ſtand though government ſhould fall: "however, for my own part, I return the treaſurer thanks." Nor did he, after this, deſiſt from his undertaking, till he had got ſome of the treaſurer's creatures turned out of their offices, and all the relics of tyranny in Scotland removed, and the council aboliſhed by the parliament; for he had nothing elſe in his view but the public liberty.

Thankſgiving for the union.

ON the firſt day of May 1707, the queen, who prized the union of her kingdoms above pearls and jewels, went in a joyful triumph to the

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the cathedral of St. Paul's, attended by a great multitude, to pray to God for his bleſſing upon it. On this day a medal was ſtruck, bearing the date and the enſigns of the united kingdoms, and given to every member of the parliament; though not one of the Scots was yet reckoned among the peers of Great Britain.

MAIJ 1. MDCCVII.

MANY in both kingdoms complained of the earl of Godolphin; and ſaid, that after he was freed from the difficulties into which he was brought by reaſon of the act of ſecurity in Scotland, "he intended that "for the public ruin, which God's providence had turned to the public "good." He certainly had good fortune at hand, if he had but known how to uſe it; but, being anxious for the preſervation of his own authority, he was jealous of almoſt all other men. Therefore, in ſettling the government of Scotland, he neither conſulted Sommers, Halifax, Montroſe, Roxburgh, nor any body elſe, but Queenſberry, Seafield, Marr, and a few of his creatures. The earl of Seafield was made lord chancellor of Scotland, the earl of Glaſgow treaſurer depute, the duke of Montroſe lord preſident of the council: two barons of the exchequer were ſent down from England, to whom other Scotſmen were added: thoſe who were appointed over the revenue were men of both nations, and but of mean account: and when the officers of the revenue, who were compoſed of ſcrubs, poltroons, and bankrupts, came into Scotland, the people were ſo provoked, that they cried out, that the lord Godolphin had raked all the kennels of the city to ſend them. Thus they charged the earl of Godolphin with what was owing to the evil counſel and folly of other men: but, before the ſummer was ended, the minds of the people in Scotland might have been compoſed, if the queen's miniſters had made uſe of the ſame moderation in eſtabliſhing the Britiſh affairs, as they did in undertaking to ſettle them. But now they purpoſely, but ſecretly, employed all their thoughts and cares how to ſhake the new foundation of the Britiſh government, and made it their buſineſs to raiſe new commotions in Scotland. Theſe men indeed were hardly united, when they began to complain of many things, and particularly

larly of the money-tallies, &c. whereby they ſhewed how regardleſs they were of the public ſafety, and that in promoting the union they ſought only their own intereſt. The lord Halifax eaſily obviated the duke of Queenſberry's ſhifts about the money which was to be ſent into Scotland; and took care to ſend every penny of it thither within the time appointed. Thus the affairs of Britain began by degrees to be cemented. Some of the Scottiſh noblemen were adorned with honours, and others loaded with favours: the marquis of Montroſe and the earl of Roxburgh were created dukes, and admitted into the queen's council: the earl of Godolphin conferred honours upon the earl of Seafield. The earl of Marr, whoſe inclinations were not the ſame with thoſe of the duke of Queenſberry, as to the main intereſts of government, pretended to be content with a yearly penſion: yet he entered into a private agreement with Mr. Harley; and after endeavouring to excite, and to be at the head of an inſurrection in Scotland, he ſold thoſe who were to riſe in favour of the pretender, as he had before ſold his faith, and cauſed them to be brought to London. The earl of Loudon, the other ſecretary of ſtate, like a good man, remained firm in his principles; as alſo did the dukes of Argyle, Montroſe, and Roxburgh. The duke of Hamilton, avoiding all occaſions of meeting with Hooks, the pretender's emiſſary to the Scots, retired about that time into the country, and from thence into England. The duke of Athol withdrew to his ſeat in the Highlands, either on account of his own private affairs, or elſe, as his own party have written, for the greater convenience of conſulting with Hooks about reſtoring the pretender; of which concert proofs will be given hereafter.

And now having related ſo much of the affairs of Scotland, and the union of the kingdoms, I think it proper now to return to what remains of the common affairs of Great Britain; and to ſhew what pains were taken by the clergy of both nations to perſuade the people that the uniting of the two kingdoms was the effect of the wrath of God. However, the lord Sommers, who comforted himſelf with the aſſurance of his own integrity, and how glorious an action he had performed, ſometimes favoured the Scots, and ſometimes the Engliſh, and ſometimes

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ſtrenuouſly juſtified what he had done againſt the reflections of foreign nations.

In the beginning of the winter the parliament of England was aſſembled, chiefly for confirming the union of the kingdoms, and raiſing money of the ſeveral counties and towns for carrying on the war. In the firſt place, an enquiry was made into the charges of the war for the enſuing year, and the money paid out of the treaſury; not that they had any hopes to bring any of it back again, but that, by ſtating the accounts of receipts and payments, it might appear what a prodigious ſum of money was expended, and that the people might ſee that the debts of the nation increaſed every year beyond meaſure. Some thought the expences of the war ought to be leſſened; others that money ought to be taken up at a lower intereſt; and laſtly, others were for putting an end to the war, leſt the kingdom ſhould be mortgaged or pawned.

This matter was debated with great heat in the parliament. Mr. Lowndes oppoſed it: for he, reckoning up the accounts at his fingers ends, and entering into a long ſpeech, changed the ſtate of the queſtion, and threw the whole matter into perplexity and confuſion; and repeating the names of ſeveral garriſons in Spain, he ſpake nothing clearly, but puzzled the audience with a multitude of incoherent words: whether he was naturally defective in the ready choice of proper and diſtinct terms, or that he thought an obſcure manner of ſpeaking the fitteſt for concealing frauds; yet no body ſuſpected Mr. Lowndes himſelf of any fraud, but he was blamed for being too induſtrious to conceal the artifices of other men.

It is certain there were at that time, both abroad and at home, ſome concerned in the management and conduct of the war, as well as in the payment of the forces, who made an advantageous trade of the public charges; not only cheating the ſoldiers of their due pay, but their country alſo, by falſe muſters of the troops they had hired. But indeed there were ſtill greater frauds in the furniſhing of the army with ſtores and proviſions, committed even by the queen's miniſters themſelves, whoſe buſineſs

buſineſs it was to have made others do their duty. This matter gave offence to the duke of Marlborough and the lord treaſurer, as well as to the parliament: but the duke, not thinking that a proper time for inquiries, and alſo making ſome allowances out of reſpect to the reputation and courage of ſome of the commanders, who were conſcious of the crime of which they were ſuſpected, deferred the examination of the whole matter, as the earl of Godolphin alſo did; and this the rather that our former kings had found it impracticable to cure this diſeaſe, and to quench the inſatiable thirſt of avarice: for the queen's miniſters had information, and indeed particular proofs, of theſe frauds from Genoa and Leghorn, but eſpecially from Spain and Portugal: but ſince the miniſtry could not puniſh them in a time of war, or perhaps for want of a law to that purpoſe, they left this matter to the parliament. But in the houſe of commons, which is itſelf the fountain and origin of all frauds, and among whom money has as much influence as the crown itſelf, although there are always ſome, who, under pretence of defending the public, caſt reflections upon the miniſter, with a view to their own advantage, it may perhaps be in vain to expect a condign puniſhment of offenders; and much leſs, reſtitution for public peculation: for theſe clamours againſt frauds and delinquents are, for the moſt part, raiſed by the commons with no other deſign than that they themſelves may be bought off by the court, or bribed by the perſons accuſed; which is not to be wondered at, ſince, in theſe days, colonels, captains, and a long train of military men, are commonly elected to parliament by money more than merit. After the debate about putting a ſtop to the public frauds, and the immoderate expence of the war, had been carried on in the houſe of commons till late at night, the queſtion was put to the vote. The accounts were approved by a great majority; who were ſaid by ſome to be hearty for the common cauſe and the public ſafety, and by others to conſult only their own private profit and intereſt. Sir Thomas Hanmer made a ſpeech againſt the frauds, ſo full of manly eloquence, as engaged the attention of moſt men. Many of the whigs, who were attached to the miniſtry, were ſuſpected of flattery, and were ſaid to have let out their tongues for hire; which was a great diſgrace to their party: for at that time the common people ſeemed to grow weary of the war, and to be ſurfeited with victories;

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and no ſooner were they freed from the fear of their enemies, than they became elated with their proſperity, and grew wantonly mad, deſiring peace on any terms; never conſidering on what grounds the war was begun, and whether an honourable peace could be made with the enemy without the conſent of the allies. Nor were thoſe of the French faction wanting to ſow the ſeeds of ſuſpicion and diſcord among the people; inſinuating that the war was prolonged for the ſake of private profit.

THE queen alſo at that time had conceived a ſecret prejudice againſt the dutcheſs of Marlborough; and the more averſe ſhe became to her, ſhe began to caſt the more favourable eyes upon others. Mr. Harley, who was a man of ſingular induſtry, diligence, and courage, uſed all his endeavours to ingratiate himſelf with the queen. Provoked at his diſappointment in the above-mentioned affair of the Scots in the parliament, now deſpairing of the dutcheſs of Marlborough's favour, and ſuſpecting the earl of Godolphin's friendſhip, he conſidered with himſelf how to remove his grand enemy, the dutcheſs, from her place in the queen's favour. Under pretence of buſineſs relating to his office, he came often to wait upon the queen by night, and declared things which had been concealed from her; and when he had once diſcovered her majeſty's inclinations, he eaſily brought her into his ſentiments. But, leſt the matter ſhould be found out, by ſeeing him go and come ſo often, and to avoid his being ſuſpected by the earl of Godolphin, he gained a young lady in the queen's ſervice, whoſe name was Hill, into his meaſures, as a proper perſon to carry on the buſineſs. Mrs. Hill being a perſon of great ſubtlety, and well inſtructed by Mr. Harley, effectually performed the part entruſted to her management. And as ſhe had excellent opportunities, being the queen's dreſſer, ſo ſhe did not want for words; but, being encouraged with hopes of a huſband, and honours, improved her time beyond expectation: nor was Mr. Harley himſelf to be accuſed of negligence in this matter on his part; for Mrs. Hill was in fact ſoon married. What meetings they had about this time, under the colour of concerts of muſic, at which the queen herſelf is alſo ſaid to have been preſent, it is not neceſſary here to mention.

WHILE

WHILE Mr. Harley was thus ſecretly gaining ground in the queen's favour, and induſtriouſly ſoliciting the friendſhip of others at court, he did not neglect any means, by his friends, to gain the good-will and eſteem of all ſorts of people both in town and country. Nor did he take much reſt even at nights; but had meetings with Mr. St. John and Sir Simon Harcourt, men of great parts and ſingular boldneſs, who were bent upon the duke of Marlborough's ruin. It was Harley's part to contrive ſchemes, and their's to ſpeak in the houſe of commons, which they did with infinite eloquence. But this matter was carried on ſo ſecretly, that nothing of it was diſcovered; and all things went on orderly in Scotland, according to agreement.

THE dutcheſs of Marlborough was either ignorant of all theſe tranſactions at court, or elſe being of too haughty a nature, and, through the favour of fortune, become forgetful of herſelf, as others ſaid, deſpiſed every body but her own family; and ſtill depending upon the queen's friendſhip, ſhe enjoyed herſelf at eaſe, as if ſhe had not diſcovered the leaſt ſhadow of what Mrs. Hill was contriving, or by whom ſhe was inſtructed. She alſo came ſeldomer to court than uſual, which many thought ill judged on her part: there was no want of company at court in her abſence; and the more remiſs ſhe grew, the more diligent was Mrs. Hill, who inſinuated herſelf more and more every day into the queen's favour. In the mean time the earl of Godolphin, ſoothed by the courtiers, was ſaid to be not ſorry for the dutcheſs of Marlborough's abſence: for when ſhe was there, ſhe was either teizing him with womaniſh quarrels and altercations, or continually troubling him with interruptions in the buſineſs of the ſtate; whereas now the ſole direction of every thing was in his own hands.

This year the parliament raiſed one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for the ſervice of king Charles; a ſubſidy of two hundred thouſand pounds for the king of Pruſſia; ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds, being the ſame as in the laſt year, to the king of Portugal; and ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds to the duke of Savoy, for furniſhing out his expedition to Toulon; which ſum, Supplies raiſed.

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ſum, beſides fifty thouſand pounds granted him for carriages, is to be reckoned either to this year or the next.

In the mean time, many in the houſe of commons oppoſed theſe things, and, according to the old cuſtom, protracting the time, mentioned the congreſs which had been deſired in order to a peace, but denied in Holland; ſetting forth alſo the danger of our commerce, and the frauds of our miniſtry already mentioned; and, in ſhort, endeavouring to throw all things in confuſion, rather than that the war ſhould be longer continued. The court party, which were much ſuperior to them in number, anſwered them thus: If they diſapproved of the entering into the war, why did they ſuffer it to be begun four years ago? But if they approved of it, why would they now hinder them from making uſe of the favour of fortune? They ſhewed, that they had ſent reaſonable propoſals to the French king; and they neither would enter into any treaty of peace till they received his anſwer, nor could lay down their arms, and yield up all to the conquered enemy: that they did not take upon them the care of the public for that end, nor would be wanting in their duty now they had undertaken it. They deſired them, therefore, to forbear their reproaches, and not to require of others what they would not do themſelves; leſt, by an untimely peace, the public ſhould be deceived in the main point: for that we ought not to lay down our arms but upon fair terms, which, if they could be obtained of the enemy, they would then be as zealous for putting an end to the war, as the moſt zealous advocates for peace.

When the union of the kingdoms came under conſideration in the upper houſe, the lord Haverſham keenly oppoſed it; and, according to his cuſtom, ſpent the day in a tedious ſpeech. The lord North inveighed bitterly againſt the Scots. The earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the union of the kingdoms, declared, that though they were now againſt uniting them, yet if they ſhould be united, they would ſupport and adhere to the union. The earl of Godolphin, during the whole ſummer, held conſultations with his friends Queenſberry, Seafield, and Marr, &c. in order to

make the union firm. The duke of Queenſberry was created duke of Dover; and the queen alſo granted him and the earl of Marr and Seafield the gratuity of yearly penſions payable out of the treaſury. But theſe grants were ſaid to be rewards for their having betrayed their country; and therefore they raiſed ſuſpicions in ſome, and diſaffection in others; nor did they make thoſe on whom they were beſtowed any firmer in their fidelity. Theſe men, who were thus rewarded, provoked the Scots at home, and neglected them abroad: they gave the earl of Godolphin trouble enough in private, but openly they were obſequious to him, and purſued his directions: they fomented diſcord, and made no difference between right and wrong; and, laſtly, they adviſed the earl of Godolphin to adminiſter the government by a faction, of which they took care to have themſelves placed at the head. In order to ſatisfy their own followers, they appointed five-and-twenty members of parliament commiſſioners for the diſtribution of the money which was called the equivalent: theſe diſtributors were obliged to do every thing according to the direction of their patrons; and others of their followers they put into places and offices of government; that ſo they might be capable of ſerving their turn in the elections of members of parliament. Theſe, and many other things of a like nature, which looked like acts of tyranny rather than of a juſt government, being openly tranſacted, gave great offence to many people in England; eſpecially to the lord Sommers, who was the parent of the union of the kingdoms in England, as well as the lord Cowper lord high chancellor of Great Britain, in whom all the ornaments and graces of eloquence were diſplayed in the greateſt perfection. For the chancellor, after he had corrected the late corrupt practices of the court, and aboliſhed the new-year's gifts, and other odious cuſtoms, was amazed to ſee worſe things now introduced into the government, and a foundation purpoſely laid for faction, at the very firſt ſettlement of the kingdom of Great Britain. Theſe therefore adviſed, that the newly united kingdom ſhould be governed in another manner, and would rather have had the government guarded by laws, than every thing to depend upon the will of the prince. And, if the earl of Godolphin had hearkened to their advice at that time, he might afterwards have withſtood the efforts of an impotent faction, and finally conſolidated the Britiſh government; he might have enjoyed his poſt to the laſt day of his life, and at his death

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death left a laſting monument of himſelf; delivered up the government ſafe to poſterity, and his life to immortal honour. Though that man had nothing in him that was abject, nothing mean, nothing low, except the lowlineſs of his mind, which was naturally diſpoſed to be humble, yet he had not ſpirit and magnanimity equal to the ſettlement of kingdoms; and with regard to poſthumous fame, he was indifferent to all poſterity but his own. Thoſe who deſire to live only for themſelves, ſet no value on the honours of the grave; nor do ſuch ſelfiſh minds commonly experience any fidelity of friendſhip, but, confiding in ſelf-intereſted and cunning men, neither ſufficiently known to them, nor at all attached to their perſons, ſuffer, after their career of power is run, the ſeverer fall; as it happened afterwards to the earl of Godolphin; for the ſupport he expected from ſome of the Scots became the chief means of his ruin; and within little more than two years, he repented both of his counſels and counſellors, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

French prophets proved impoſtors.

About two years before this, a company of ſtrolling prophets came over from France into England. This contagious tribe miſerably infected many frantic and crack-brained people at London, who fancied they had revelations of many things to come; for theſe men's idle ſtories being divulged among the people, occaſioned numerous meetings of them about the ſkirts of the city. Nor did theſe men ſpare even ſacred things. There you might ſee the prophet lying flat upon the ground, as if he was juſt expiring; or elſe, like one out of his mind, he is mute, ſweats and trembles! At length he begins to rave, and work himſelf out of breath, as if it were to ſhake out the ſpirit, uttering a multitude of words without any coherence, but ſuch as are peculiar to prophets; ſometimes he ſhuts his foaming mouth cloſe, and ſometimes opens it wide, repeating the names of the Aſſyrian and Egyptian kings, and pronouncing uncouth words, pumped up, as it were, from the bottom of his belly. On the ſight of this, not only ſome chymiſts, mathematicians, and others, whoſe natural genius diſpoſes them to divination, were tainted with their errors and falſe notions; but naughty women alſo, who were corrupted both in body and mind, became infected with their diſorder, and began to propheſy!

propheſy! But, ſince medicine avails little to cure the diſtempers of the mind, in order to prevent the ſpreading of the infection, theſe prophets were called to account, and ſome of them proſecuted. At laſt they gave out that they could raiſe the dead! And when the prefixed time came, which they had appointed for the reſtoring Dr. Wells to life, who was dead and buried, a vaſt multitude of people, who were either poſſeſſed with a vain expectation, or probability of the miracle, crowded to the place on the 1ſt of May 1707, to behold the confirmation of what they had ſaid. But when the people had waited there a long time, and ſaw nothing of the expected miracle, their credulity became a jeſt, and all the doctrine of theſe prophets was abaſhed and deſpiſed. From hence they proceeded into Scotland; but that northern air not being the ſame which they had breathed among the mountains of the Cevennes, they had not the ſame gift of prophecy there. Two years after this, they tranſported themſelves into Holland. On their arrival there, the magiſtrates immediately committed them to the houſe of correction, as idle vagrants and vagabonds; chiefly to the end that they might not divert the people from their lawful employments; and that, if they had any power from above to do anything towards healing the wounds of the public, it might take its riſe where the corrupt practices had their beginning. Mr. B. Furleigh, an Engliſh merchant, who was himſelf much addicted to them, was grievouſly affected with their impriſonment, and made great complaint thereof to the queen's ambaſſador. He excuſed himſelf, becauſe the prophets not being Engliſhmen, he had no authority to demand their releaſe. But they were diſmiſſed at laſt: and this ſtorm raiſed by the prophets in England blew over in a little time, after Mr. Steele had, in his writing, turned them and their dreams into ridicule. Mr. Steele likewiſe employed himſelf, by way of amuſement, in cenſuring the manners of the people, the follies, levities, luxury of the women, and, at laſt, the faults of the times. At this time a great part of the inferior clergy, who ſeemed to place all piety in bounty and benevolence to their order, took not the leaſt notice of the prophets, and ſeemed now endued with great moderation, which was very wonderful. But many of them were promoted to good benefices and dignities. Dr. Atterbury obtained the deanery of Carliſle, and others

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got other preferments; and Mr. Harley, the queen's ſecretary, by filling many of them with hopes, kept the clergy within the bounds of their duty. It is certain that many of them at that time were wont to ſtrain or ſoften their voices in the convocation as they judged it conducive to their private intereſts, which gave great ſcandal and offence to the earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham, who were ſtrenuous champions for the church, which was then reported to be in danger. But that hot man Dr. Sacheverill, whoſe wickedneſs exceeded his years, either deſirous to be thought a prophet, or to be made a biſhop, turned the edge of all his oratory againſt Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. St. John, who at that time were all in the court intereſt, reflecting upon them as falſe brethren, and a ſpurious brood, in a ſermon which he preached in the country. They little regarded all he had ſaid; aſcribing it to the audaciouſneſs and pertneſs of the man, and looking upon him as one of the mad prophets.

When the duke of Marlborough had prepared every thing for his expedition to Holland, as ſoon as the winter was over, and he had concerted meaſures for carrying on the war with the queen and the prince of Denmark, who was always ready to do his beſt for the ſafety of the kingdom, as well as the honour of the confederate war, he intended to embark for Holland in the month of March. The only thing that detained him was the quarrel among the women about the court. He deſired his dutcheſs to put an end to thoſe controverſies, and to avoid all occaſions of ſuſpicion and diſguſt, and not to ſuffer herſelf to grow inſolent upon the favour of fortune; "otherwiſe," ſaid he, "I ſhall hardly be able hereafter to excuſe your fault, or to "juſtify my own actions however meritorious." To which the dutcheſs anſwered, "I will take care of thoſe things, ſo that you need not be in "any fear about me; but whoever ſhall think to remove me out of "the queen's favour, let them take care leſt they remove themſelves." Such things as theſe muſt be borne with among women. For few people have drawn raſh concluſions concerning uncertain events, but fortune has deceived them. After theſe ſpeeches on the ſhore, ſhe took leave of her huſband; and the duke of Marlborough embarking, hoiſted ſail, in order to get out of the mouth of the Thames; but was driven back

again into port by contrary winds. However, that there might be no thoughts of a long ſtay, he declared he would not loſe any opportunity of ſailing, and therefore ordered the ſoldiers and mariners to continue on board. At laſt, the wind blowing fair, the duke, who was on board a light veſſel, ſoon came up with the men of war, and, after a good paſſage, landed ſafely in Holland the next day.

The pope ordered prayers to be put up to God for a peace. The French king publicly declared, that he would yield up to the emperor all the Spaniſh dominions, except Spain itſelf and the Indies. The Venetians alſo ſent a ſpendid embaſſy into England. Some of the Dutch, who thought the overtures of peace not to be ſlighted, ſent Monſ. Pettecum, a man of no note or reputation, privately into France, to promote a treaty of peace. Pettecum, being a man of ſmall fortune, and fit for any bold undertaking, on his return from France, perſuaded the confederates to hold a correſpondence with the French; ſhewing them, that if he had authority for it, he did not doubt but to put an end to the war on reaſonable terms; at leaſt on this condition, that each ſide ſhould keep what they had got in the war. Pettecum's view in this advice was, that if, by his intereſt and management, he could procure a ceſſation of arms, he ſhould be well rewarded, and he hoped alſo to acquire no ſmall ſhare of praiſe. The Dutch ſent Pettecum back again into France to treat about what he had promiſed. The confederates thought fit to perſiſt in the anſwer ſent to the elector of Bavaria. And ſince the French king, who knew the grounds of the war and the conditions of the confederacy, had not yet made them any propoſals, they thought this motion for a conference ought to be rejected, and the war to be continued; and ſaid, they would not make a truce out of mere compaſſion for the French king, when he had it in his own power to comply with their reaſonable demands, or to come to a treaty of peace upon fair terms. The confederates, therefore, declined to return him any anſwer to his demand of a truce, till they ſhould hear at leaſt from Monſ. Pettecum, or the elector of Bavaria, what particular anſwer the French king would give them, as to the ſecurity and hoſtages; and in the mean time they prepared for war.

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THE Engliſh fleet, which, as we have already obſerved, had aſſiſted the confederates in taking Oſtend, had not a fair ſeaſon for ſailing that ſummer; and now, in the month of October, ſeeing they had loſt ſome opportunities, and the winter then was coming on, they embarked their ſoldiers, and every thing neceſſary for war being put on board, the fleet ſet ſail with a gentle breeze, and paſſing by Liſbon, landed at Alicant on the 8th of February 1707. Theſe forces, being eight thouſand in number, were commanded by the earl of Rivers, who was diſtinguiſhed by great ſubtlety of genius, but one of the meaneſt of mankind. He had formerly acquired no ſmall reputation for military ſkill and experience, but now was as much abandoned to effeminacy and doating love, as he was ambitious of command; ſo that, in England, he would neither decline the fatigue of the expedition, nor, in Spain, accept of the command of the army from the earl of Galway; but whether he looked upon king Charles's affairs in Spain as deſperate, or doated upon his miſtreſs, whom he had long enjoyed as his wife; or laſtly, had received the queen's commands, as many in England thought he had, nothing could diſſwade him from his reſolution to return home: therefore, having landed the troops, and ſtaid a few days in Spain, as ſoon as the wind turned about from the weſt towards the eaſt, the earl of Rivers took the firſt light ſhip, and ſet ſail for England, bringing home with him the earl of Eſſex, a perſon of great merit. Rivers no ſooner came on ſhore, than he went to a merchant to borrow money upon the queen's credit; with which fraud he concluded all his military ſervices. And now he began to ſtudy innovations out of hatred to the duke of Marlborough.

The fifth expedition to Spain.

IN the mean time, the French king wrote letters to the pope, Feb. 15, deſiring his holineſs to aſſiſt him to obtain a peace, and ſubmitting the Spaniſh dominions in Italy to his award; whereupon prayers were appointed to be made to God throughout all Italy.

THE people of Britain, now laying aſide all fear of their enemies abroad, as men under a great flow of proſperity are wont to do, raiſed loud complaints that many uſeleſs things were done in the conduct of the war, and that nothing was managed with propriety in the adminiſtration

niſtration of the government at home. The dutcheſs of Marlborough, after the departure of the duke, rode all about town with an air of pleaſure and haughtineſs, till, being admoniſhed by the earl of Godolphin, ſhe retired to her ſeat near Windſor: all which gave occaſion to various diſcourſes among the people. When the diſſentions at court came to be publicly talked of, many who were gaping for other mens' fortunes, congratulated one another, that now all acceſs to the queen was no longer to be precluded. Some of the clergy alſo began again to repreſent in their diſcourſes, that the church was in danger, and in a very weak ſtate; while others anſwered, "It ſurely "did not appear ſo by their roſy cheeks and ſleek countenances." As the queen's mind became changed and alienated from the dutcheſs of Marlborough, Mrs. Hill gave Mr. Harley daily intelligence how much the queen hated her, and alſo privately adminiſtered fuel to her majeſty's reſentment by rehearſing inſtances of the pride of that dutcheſs, and the dangerous riches of that family, which ſhe frequently diſplayed. Nor was Mr. Harley himſelf wanting to improve this opportunity, though he had not yet openly broke with the earl of Godolphin. For he laboured ſecretly to bring the queen into his meaſures; but the prince of Denmark oppoſed this, leſt the public ſhould ſuffer by it. The queen was alſo ſomewhat afraid to leſſen the duke of Marlborough's power; ſince he had ingratiated himſelf with the people and the army by ſo many great victories, and was the man in whom all the allies placed the greateſt confidence. Therefore the queen was cautious, and ſeemed ſometimes to lay aſide her reſentment; which was a proof that the duke of Marlborough was as high in the queen's eſteem as any one could be. Mr. Harley, therefore, acted the more warily in this matter, leſt he ſhould leſſen his own intereſt among the people, or render the earl of Godolphin more averſe to him; well knowing that parliament not only reſpected Godolphin's counſels as if they had been pronounced by an oracle, but that all authority depended upon his ſole pleaſure.

In France, beſides defeats in the field, there was a great ſcarcity of both money and corn, which gave occaſion to many murmurings and complaints. But the country people's mouths would have been

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ſoon ſtopt by the French king, if the duke of Burgundy had not alſo complained aloud, and, in ſome meaſure, given a ſanction to their lamentations by his authority. In the midſt of theſe difficulties, when the king was worn out, as it were, and ſinking under old age, the whole body of the clergy came to his ſuccour, comforting him with the higheſt ſtrains of their rhetoric. Firſt, they endeavoured to cheer his mind, by recalling to his remembrance that dignity and honour which had ſhed a luſtre on his reign. They proceeded to extol his unparalleled firmneſs and moderation in proſperity, and ſteady fortitude in adverſity. And at laſt they exclaimed, "How happy is out lot, "whom Providence has reſerved to the difficult times in which we "not only behold your royal virtues, which were always conſpicuous, "ſhining with brighter and brighter luſtre; but have an opportunity "of diſcovering many other extraordinary endowments of your mind, "which before lay concealed, but which have now unfolded themſelves to the unſpeakable comfort of all your ſubjects, and the conſolation of diſtant poſterity."

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK X.

Fear a ſtronger Principle in Government than either Utility or ſocial Affection.——Duke of Marlborough's Speech to the States General.——His Sixth Campaign.——Battle of Almanza.——Attempt upon Toulon. Sir Cloudeſly Shovel loſt.——Expedition to Naples.——Campaign on the Rhine.——Elector of Hanover made General of the Army there.——The King of Sweden in Germany.——Privy Council of Scotland abrogated.——Diſturbances projected in Scotland.——Palatines brought over.

ALTHOUGH the mutual ſympathy and affection of mankind, and the advantages of living in ſociety, have undoubtedly mighty influence both in the formation and the preſervation of governments; yet I have always been inclined to believe, and from what has been obſerved on the ſcenes I have here deſcribed, I am firmly perſuaded that there is another principle of ſtill greater efficacy in theſe matters; I mean, the principle of fear; whether the fear of a powerful enemy, or that of the majeſty of God: for love is often tranſformed into an exceſſive ſelfiſhneſs, and thus a regard to ſelf-intereſt rather tends to diſſolve than to ſtrengthen the bands of union among men; eſpecially if they are induced by the bad examples of their chiefs,

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chiefs, or leading men, every one to purſue his own private ends, as men by nature are apt to do; ſo that what is ſometimes a virtue in our nature, degenerates often into a vice.

THE confederated princes united at firſt in alliance through fear of their enemies, and by bravely ſurmounting all the hardſhips of a fierce and calamitous war, acquired great reputation and glory: but now, at length, elated with their victories, and freed from all their apprehenſions of danger, they either grew weary of the war, or wantonly began to divide themſelves into different parties, and to take ſeparate meaſures, when they ought to have continued more cloſely united.

FOR the emperor Joſeph, indulging himſelf in licentiouſneſs, threw the whole burthen of the war in Spain and Portugal, and a great part of that alſo in Italy and Germany, upon the Engliſh and Dutch, and utterly neglected the affairs of king Charles. The Dutch alſo, and ſome of the Engliſh, either out of inſolence, or drunkenneſs, or madneſs, or elſe out of partiality for the French king, had eagerly graſped at the propoſals for peace which had been made by their enemy the elector of Bavaria: and although to frame judicious treaties of pacification be a matter that far tranſcends the ſenſe and capacities of unexperienced perſons, private men had anticipated all the conditions of peace, and ſettled the articles agreeably to their own fancy, without equity, without any regard to the intereſt, the honour, or the ſafety of their country: and, wholly diſregarding the public faith, they came to ſuch concluſions among themſelves in their cabals, as if in affairs of ſtate it had been ſometimes neceſſary to blunder.

THE wild and precipitate meaſures of theſe men were vigorouſly oppoſed by the duke of Marlborough, the moment he arrived in Holland. The duke, being admitted to an audience at the Hague, addreſſed himſelf to the ſtates-general concerning a truce, in words to this effect: "The benefits of conſtancy your high mightineſſes have "ſufficiently experienced, not only in the firſt conſtitution of your "republic, but from the ſeries of your affairs in all ſubſequent times; "and eſpecially from your late ſucceſſes in the preſent war. Laſt year "you

Duke of Marlborough's ſpeech to the ſtates.

"you received intelligence of three of the enemy's armies defeated, "one king driven out of Spain, and three generals vanquiſhed. Three "provinces were gained almoſt in a moment. French Flanders is "ſubjected to you, Catalonia to king Charles, and all Italy to the "emperor. But ſince you undertook to ſhare the dangers with your "confederates at the beginning of the war, while victory was doubtful, "will you not purſue the vanquiſhed enemy now, when the ſucceſs of "the war is certain; and when you ought to reap the profits of all "your paſt ſervices and labours? There are men who would perſuade "you to ceaſe to be yourſelves: but is it likely, that thoſe who were "not able to ſtand before you while they were unbroken and un-"daunted, ſhall now be able to reſiſt you when they are undone? Or "will you voluntarily put yourſelves into their power, who find "themſelves ruined by you? For what can they deſire more than to "enſnare you by ſome ſtratagem? Ye are not yet come ſo far as to "expect a firm and honourable peace: or if ye were out of the "queſtion, it is neceſſary that ye ſhould not make peace without the "conſent of your allies: for do not imagine that ye are the firſt "whom the French king has endeavoured to ſeduce into a defection. "Ye know very well (ſaid he) that the French king is thus earneſt "for a truce to eſcape the preſent danger; and for fear of a famine, "as well as inſenſibly to diſſolve that bond of friendſhip between the "allies, which he finds himſelf unable to divide by the ſword: and "ſince the French king has not hitherto given any hopes or conditions "of peace, I entreat you to renew the reſolutions among yourſelves for "continuing the war, leſt ye ſhould put a ſtop to the main buſineſs of "the ſtate, and I be thought to have expoſed my honour to reproach, "with the reputation already acquired with ſo much labour."

THE duke of Marlborough's ſpeech was highly approved by that great and good man Heinſius, as well as by Slingerland and Fagel; and at length Devenford, and others, who preferred the common cauſe to their own particular intereſts, came into the ſame ſentiments.

THOSE who were inclined for peace, aſſumed the character of patriots, and preſſed for a treaty with the French king; oppoſing the eſtabliſh-

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ment of any government in Flanders, and making many objections to the duke of Marlborough's command there, that there might be the better harveſt in thoſe parts for their own deputies. Whenever any diſcourſe was propoſed about ſettling the government of Flanders, John de Buys, and others, in order to quaſh that matter, began always to harangue about garriſons to be yielded up in the name of a frontier and barrier to the Dutch.

THE penſionary Heinſius, oppreſſed with grief at theſe things, and conſidering on what a dangerous precipice the republic was running, through theſe diſſentions about peace, deſired leave to lay down his office, as being now advanced in age, and rendered unequal to the fatigues of any public employment: but, as there was none among them who could undertake all the ſeveral duties of that office, and much leſs able to diſcharge them; and that there was not a man to be found in the republic of equal prudence, fidelity, diligence, and moderation; they all, with one conſent, entreated him to continue in his office.

HEINSIUS, with ſome reluctance, reſumed the charge committed to him, and exhorted his countrymen not to perplex themſelves with an immoderate deſire of peace, nor to throw themſelves upon a precipice. He ſhewed them alſo, that under the name of peace, there is oftentimes concealed either a long war, or ſome great domeſtic evil; and, laſtly, that ſo far as they ſhould fail their allies, ſo much the more would they be injurious to themſelves; promiſing them withal, that he, for his part, would ſo acquit himſelf, as not to give any reaſon to think him careleſs of peace: he therefore entreated them, with greater force and redoubled diligence to purſue their victories, as the only way to avoid the ruinous expences of a long war; and that none of them would put a wrong conſtruction upon his ſpeech, as they had done upon that of the duke of Marlborough.

UPON this tables of accompts, finely written, relating to the increaſing the expences of the war, were by the council of the ſtates, as uſual, laid before the deputies, and referred to the conſideration of the reſpective

reſpective provinces. Some of the people of Amſterdam, either by nature diffident, or elſe out of reſpect to trade, and favour to the French faction, combining with the malcontents in England, came into the opinion of de Buys, for a treaty with the French king for peace. For Flanders being a flat country, full of cities, and well watered with many large rivers, equally ſerviceable for fertilizing the land, and promoting commerce, and abundantly rich in all the neceſſaries of life, theſe men deſired above all things to have had thoſe provinces under their own management, and made ſubſervient to the intereſt of their friends: but they never once thought of enlarging their dominions this year: a diſpoſition which, it is certain, was moſt acceptable to the French king. Thoſe factious men had likewiſe recourſe to the church, and referred themſelves to their divines for what they ought rather to have conſulted experienced ſtateſmen: for, during the war, ſolemn prayer-days were appointed once or twice every week in their churches: thither the people flocked at their leiſure hours; and the preachers expatiated on the miſeries of war, and the comforts and benefits of peace, often beyond meaſure, according as they were paid for it; and determined of peace according to the capacity and underſtanding of the vulgar. Thus all the inexperienced multitude were inflamed with ſuch ardent deſire and expectation of a peace, as made it neceſſary at length to come to a treaty; and this was the firſt riſe of miſchief among them, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

Duke of Marlborough's ſixth campaign.

In the mean time, as ſoon as the duke of Marlborough arrived in the camp, he received news from France, alas, too true! of an unſucceſsful battle fought in Spain by the earl of Galway.

We have already ſhewn that the earl of Rivers had returned to England, within a few days after his arrival with ſome reinforcements in Spain, either out of fondneſs for his miſtreſs, without whom he could not live, or elſe being recalled by the queen's command. And now, as ſoon as the earl of Galway was informed of the number of his forces, he invited king Charles to join him, as if he had been aſ-

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ſured of victory, drew his forces out of their winter quarters, formed an army of ſeventeen thouſand men, of which twelve thouſand were foot and five thouſand horſe, and ſet fire to the enemy's magazines on the frontiers of Caſtile.

KING CHARLES, by the advice of his German counſellors, on intelligence that his affairs in Catalonia required his preſence, marched thither, leaving the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway in the camp, to command the army. Theſe commanders formed a reſolution to attack the ſtrong caſtle of Villena: but the governor of the caſtle making a braver defence than could have been expected, held out with a garriſon of no more than two hundred men, long enough to give the duke of Berwick time to aſſemble his forces at Almanza, in order to raiſe the ſiege.

UPON this intelligence, the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas, laid aſide all further thoughts of reducing the caſtle: and on the 24th of April called a council of war, to conſult what was beſt to be done. There it was unanimouſly reſolved to march out againſt the enemy, and to give them battle, before the duke of Berwick ſhould be joined by the French troops, which were thought to be within two days march: and the duke of Berwick being informed of the reſolution of the confederates, wrote letters to the duke of Orleans to haſten his march with all ſpeed, the better to inſpire his Spaniſh forces with freſh courage. The ſcarcity of forage and corn alſo gave no ſmall trouble to the confederate army, becauſe all the cities in thoſe parts which had declared for king Charles were deſolate: and ſupplies of proviſions could not be had out of Valentia, by reaſon of the length and difficulties of the journey. Beſides all this, the earl of Galway obſerved, that the numbers of the enemy were daily increaſing, and the roads intercepted, ſo that his own forces could not eaſily be brought off, on account of the ſtraits and difficulties of the paſſes: wherefore he thought no time was to be loſt, and reſolved to engage immediately, ſince his ſoldiers could not long ſubſiſt in thoſe places.

THESE reaſons prevailed in the council, though other reſolutions had been taken before; and ſome ſay, he had received orders from England, without the queen's knowledge, to this purpoſe; which, however, the earl of Galway, out of greater regard to the favour of his patrons than to the common cauſe, never thought fit to diſcloſe: neither did he afterwards produce any thing of that kind in his own vindication, though many people looked upon this to be very probable.

BUT, to paſs over thoſe dark and ſecret counſels of the earl of Sunderland, the earl of Galway well knew that the duke of Berwick had orders not to attempt any thing before the duke of Orleans ſhould join him: wherefore, the next day, though the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas had certain intelligence by deſerters, that the enemy had joined their forces, they prepared for battle: and, on the 25th of April 1707, being a day when the enemy was foraging abroad, they unfortunately advanced by break of day, in three columns, to the plain of Almanza. Theſe they arrived before the duke of Berwick could expect them: but as ſoon as he diſcovered them, he ſtruck his tents, and ſent immediate orders to recall the foragers, and drew up his army in order of battle, to receive the aſſault of the confederates: for though he was commanded not to attack the enemy, yet this order could not be ſo conſtrued, as that he ſhould not defend himſelf, or that he ſhould tamely ſuffer his men to be maſſacred.

Battle of Almanza.

THE duke's army conſiſted of ſeventy-ſix ſquadrons and fifty-four battalions: for the French recruits coming up ſooner than their own friends expected them, had reached Berwick's camp the day before. The confederates army conſiſted of only ſixteen thouſand men. When both armies were drawn up in order of battle, the confederate generals thought fit to make a halt in the plain, that their men, who were fatigued with the pains of their march, and ſomewhat out of breath, might recover their ſpirits, and not be immediately expoſed to the dangers of a battle under their preſent difficulties. As the earl of Galway was inferior to the enemy in horſe, and

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and every thing elſe, he very judiciouſly left a ſpace between the ſeveral wings, for a brigade of foot, ſo that every ſquadron was interlined. The lord Tyrawley obſerving, that the enemy's line was extended to a much greater length than that of the confederates, drew the Portugueze regiment out of the ſecond into the firſt line, to lengthen his front, leſt his men ſhould be ſurrounded by the enemy. After this, about three o'clock afternoon, the earl of Galway advancing at the head of the dragoons, commanded colonel Dormer, a brave young gentleman, to attack the enemy's artillery. Dormer executed his orders, and made himſelf maſter of the cannon, which he kept in his poſſeſſion ſome time, and nailed as many of them as he could. In the mean time the earl of Galway himſelf attacked the right wing of the enemy

THE duke of Berwick having given orders to his whole army not to engage without his command, immediately prepared himſelf to ſuſtain the earl of Galway's charge, which he ſtood a long time. At length, when his ſuccours came up, the confederates, oppreſſed with their numbers, were forced to give ground, and retire about fifty paces: but colonel Southwell's and colonel Wade's regiments of foot advancing to the earl of Galway's aſſiſtance, poured in their fire among the enemy; and the horſe at the ſame time renewing the charge, drove the enemy's cavalry, which had advanced too far, back upon their foot, and forced them through their own lines with great ſlaughter. In the mean time lieutenant-general Earl, an Engliſhman, and baron Freſham, a Dutchman, alſo advanced, and redoubling their force, attacked the enemy's horſe with ſuch fury, as obliged them to give ground. This ſucceſs ſo much encouraged the confederates, that they preſſed forward and purſued the routed enemy to the very walls of Almanza, with great loſs on both ſides: but the confederates puſhing too far, diſordered their own lines; and this criſis of the engagement was a great occaſion of ſafety to the enemy: for the duke of Berwick perceiving it, led up a ſquadron to the relief of his party, and cut off the retreat of the confederates, who had raſhly gone too far. And now the face of affairs was ſuddenly changed: colonel Hill, and the lord Mark Kerr, a man of the greateſt bravery and honour, haſted thither

thither to favour their friends retreat: but the duke of Berwick ſeeing the Portugueze horſe, did not follow them; and perceiving that part of the confederate army to be but weak, attacked that body of cavalry. And thus the whole right wing was put to flight; and the Portugueze horſe, though yet entire, left their foot, and conſulted their own ſafety. The Portugueze foot ſeeing their horſe begin to fly, either through miſtake or indignation, fired upon them briſkly; ſo that the horſe having no opportunity to form themſelves again, quitted the field. Thus very ſmall accidents were attended with great conſequences on both ſides, while the marquis das Minas, who in this battle ſhewed equal courage and conduct, never dreamed of any ſuch event as actually happened. While theſe things paſſed on the right, the confederates left wing, which was divided from the right, made a determined and gallant reſiſtance: and when the enemy's horſe could not make any impreſſion upon them, the duke of Berwick brought up nine battalions of French to attack them, giving orders to ſurround them in front and rear, as well as in their open flank. The confederates ſtill bore the aſſault with great bravery, and made a gallant reſiſtance: but when freſh forces came conſtantly to relieve the fatigued, and they found themſelves continually aſſailed by new enemies, the ſpirits of the confederates failed them through wearineſs; and now the whole left wing alſo was put to flight. In the mean time, colonel Roper led up a party of horſe to attack the enemy, and to cover the rear of thoſe who fled: but he was ſo overpowered by numbers, that he found it in vain to attempt to renew the engagement; and the confederates, as men are apt to do when life is in danger, either bewailed their own deſperate condition, or condoled with their friends the common calamity, when there was no proſpect of ſafety from the enemy, nor any hope to eſcape by flight, and their only ſecurity ſeemed to be in a retreat to the neighbouring mountains. In this deſperate ſituation major-general Shrimpton, and the colonels Hill and Britton, with others, aſſembling a body of the broken forces of the ſeveral confederated nations, made with all ſpeed to the mountains which were almoſt bordering upon the camp. Theſe troops, to the number of four thouſand men, retreating together, and worn out with the fatigues of the day and the march, made a ſtand in the mountains

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of Caudetta, to avoid the duke of Berwick's horſe which purſued them. Here the plain line of conduct that lay before them, was to have marched immediately through different roads and narrow paſſes, and to have placed rear-guards in the ſtreights to interrupt the victorious army, and to hinder the enemy from making themſelves maſters of thoſe paſſes. This, which they certainly ought to have endeavoured by all means to have accompliſhed, was omitted for want of horſe; which when the duke of Berwick obſerved, who neither wanted courage in battle, nor ſpeed in the purſuit, he ordered count D'Asfeldt to ſurround them before day in the mountains. This remnant of the confederate army being now cloſely beſet on all ſides, and cut off from their own towns, as well as their corn and other proviſions, inſomuch that they had not enough in ſtore to keep them from famine, reſolved to treat of a ſurrender, having faithfully diſcharged their duty. D'Asfeldt gave them to underſtand, in few words, that the only capitulation which could be granted them was the ſame which had been granted to the French at Blenheim the laſt year; which they accepted, and laid down their arms. Theſe were now reduced to twelve battalions, which were conducted into the interior parts of Spain.

In this diſaſtrous ſtate of affairs there were ſome Iriſh troops in both armies; and every one of the priſoners looked out for ſuch of their acquaintances and countrymen as were in the duke of Berwick's army. Colonel Caufied, preferring an inglorious life before an untainted reputation, got himſelf recommended by J. Achmuty to the duke of Berwick, who received him very kindly. And the duke is believed to have gained ſo much upon him by his lenity, that Caufield never made any good figure in war afterwards. In this battle there was a great ſlaughter of the infantry. If we paſs over the reſolution for fighting, and the error of the commanders, the reſt of the earl of Galway's conduct in this battle may be pronounced to be unexceptionable; for he received two wounds in his face, and retired a little; but as ſoon as thoſe were dreſſed, he returned immediately into the battle: but, being at length overpowered with the numbers of the enemy, and ſeeing all was loſt, he fled with brigadier Carpenter's dragoons. Brigadier Killigrew, with Roper, Lawrence, Dormer, and Green, colonels of horſe,

horſe, fighting gallantly, were here ſlain; as were alſo the lieutenant-colonels Macneal, Wollet, Ramſay, and Erſkine, a young gentleman of ſingular courage, among the foot; together with many other veteran and brave ſoldiers. The priſoners taken here amounted to ſeven thouſand, beſides a hundred and twenty ſtandards and colours, all their cannon and baggage, with a great number of carriages, which fell into the enemy's hands. The battle of Almanza was reported throughout all Europe, by French expreſſes and rumours, and magnified greatly beyond the truth.

THE duke of Berwick, having defeated the confederate army, leſt he ſhould be thought to have affected the chief command, ſignified, by letter to the duke of Orleans, the neceſſity he lay under to fight, and gave him a full account of the battle; excuſing himſelf to him for having engaged the enemy before his arrival; and declaring, that as, on the one hand, he had not courted an occaſion of fighting, ſo, on the other, he had not given the enemy any advantage over him: all which circumſtances he mentioned, leſt the victory he had obtained ſhould be thought any diminution of the duke of Orleans's glory.

THE earl of Galway was now forced to take new meaſures for carrying on the war, this defeat having broken all his former reſolutions. He, therefore, at one time, drawing the garriſons out of ſome places, put garriſons into others. He ſent ſome forces for the ſecurity of Denia, Xativa, and Alicant; and, gathering together the ſcattered remains of his broken army, he paſſed the river Ebro, and made a ſtand there, in order to defend Catalonia. He ſeized all the paſſes of the river, fortified the bridge at Tortoſa, and furniſhed other ſtrong-holds with all ſuch neceſſaries as his preſent unhappy circumſtances enabled him to do for their better defence. Then he exhorted his ſoldiers not to be too much caſt down at what had happened, nor to be terrified at the overthrow received, but to balance this one unhappy battle with the many victories which Providence had granted to the confederates, and to repair by their valour the damage they had ſuſtained, while fortune was yet to be recovered by diligence;

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adding, that thoſe men are very unreaſonable in their expectations, who always look for ſucceſs in war.

In the mean time, the duke of Orleans, who was ſcarcely four days march from the duke of Berwick's camp at the time of the battle, redoubled his ſpeed, and marched continually day and night to join the duke of Berwick, uſing the utmoſt diligence to move the camp from thence to Valentia, to prevent the earl of Galway from putting garriſons into the cities on the ſea-coaſts. Nor was the duke of Orleans deceived in his judgment that the enemy would quit Valencia, and retire into Catalonia; and that the people, hearing of this battle, would think no more of continuing the war. For when he came there, he reaped the fruits worthy of his diligence and his great ſoul. The whole people of Valentia, and the other towns of that province, threw down their arms; and leaving their houſes, ſome fled to the ſea-ports, and others came out to meet the duke of Orleans. The citizens of Valentia ſent deputies to his camp to compliment him, as ſupplicants are wont to addreſs their conquerors, ſubmitting themſelves and all they had to the king's clemency and mercy; only petitioning, and with their hands ſpread, humbly imploring to be re-admitted to king Philip's favour and obedience; and to that end, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, entreating his intereſt and good offices. They did not attempt wholly to excuſe the crime of the revolt now charged upon their city; but only ſaid it was not owing to any inconſtancy in them, much leſs to their own inclination; but that provinces are ſometimes allotted by Providence, ſo that they are not always in the power of the people; and, laſtly, that if by any means they might be admitted to the favour of pardon, they would attone for their paſt crime by future good ſervices: and how much ſoever they had failed hitherto, they promiſed to make ample amends hereafter by their fidelity, conſtancy, and unſhaken duty, at the peril of their lives and fortunes. The clergy of Valentia alſo came out in a ſolemn proceſſion to meet the duke of Orleans at his approach; ſubmitting themſelves to him, and congratulating him not only upon his late victory, but even upon his happy arrival among them. They likewiſe

likewiſe ſolicited ſome forces to be quartered among them, that their houſes and conſecrated virgins, which had hitherto ſuffered violence and various injuries from the confederates, might now be defended from their ravaging and enraged ſoldiers.

THE duke of Orleans impoſed freſh oaths upon theſe people, and graciouſly received them again under the protection of king Philip. Many other cities alſo ſent their deputies to him, to offer him their beſt ſervices, and to deſire a guard of ſoldiers for their ſecurity. Thus, wherever the news arrived of the duke of Orleans's approach, and the late unhappy battle, which was greatly magnified in many particulars, all the cities in the way revolted from king Charles's party.

THE duke of Orleans, on leaving Valentia, divided his army, and ſent the duke of Berwick to the Ebro, while he himſelf marched toward Saragoſſa. On his approach, the deputies of that city came two miles out to meet him, declaring their ſubmiſſion to king Philip, and promiſing obedience to all his commands.

THE duke of Orleans obliged the citizens to furniſh him with four thouſand buſhels of corn, and to pay him a fine of forty-five thouſand piſtoles; and the other cities and towns of Arragon were fined in ninety thouſand piſtoles: and farther, he forced the citizens of Saragoſſa, at their own expence, to build a citadel.

IN the mean time, the duke of Berwick, making long marches to the Ebro, reduced all the towns in his way; and as ſoon as he arrived there, attacked the bridge at Tortoſa with all his force, which had been fortified by the earl of Galway. But the confederates making a more vigorous defence than could have been expected, repulſed the French and Spaniards twice with a great ſlaughter; which very much diſheartened the Spaniards of the French faction. The caſtle of Xativa, being unprovided of all means of defence, was reduced by brigadier Mahoni; and the garriſon of Alceira ſurrendered immediately upon honourable conditions. Count d'Aſfeldt, encouraged

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by theſe examples, attempted twice to take Denia by ſtorm; but, being ſtoutly repulſed with the loſs of many of his men, he was glad to make off as it were by flight.

KING PHILIP receiving the news of theſe ſucceſſes, loaded the duke of Berwick with honours and rewards, and purchaſed fifty thouſand maſſes to be ſaid for thoſe who were ſlain; he alſo made a ſolemn thankſgiving to the Bleſſed Virgin for the birth of the prince his ſon, who was afterwards a great ſecurity and comfort to him; and preparations were made for ſolemnizing a magnificent chriſtening.

THE duke of Orleans, according to king Philip's orders, having rigorouſly levied the money impoſed upon the people of Arragon, and joined his forces with the duke of Berwick, endeavoured to paſs his army over the river Senga; but the confederates hindered his paſſage. He therefore reſolved to attack Mequinenza, ſituated upon the confluence of the Senga and the Segra. But the governor of this town, obſerving the weakneſs of the fortifications, and the ſmall number of his garriſon, after having made ſome ſhew of defence, prudently deſerted it, and withdrew his men privately into the confederates camp about the beginning of July. The duke of Orleans, having paſſed the Senga, at length began to beſiege Lerida in the month of October. When the enemy had long endeavoured to come to a freſh engagement with the earl of Galway to no purpoſe, and he had made his retreat to Barcelona, a diſpute aroſe between the dukes of Orleans and Berwick. Lerida, which is ſituated between the rivers Segra and Senga, and being now eaſier to be taken than it was in Cæſar's time, partly through the unevenneſs of the place, and partly through the valour of the ſoldiers, was taken by the duke of Orleans in a fortnight; but the citadel held out much longer.

WHEN the news of the defeat at Almanza reached England, it occaſioned great interruption to the counſels of the miniſtry, who now turned their thoughts upon the means of repairing the loſs, and conſulted the confederates about reinforcing their armies. But the princes of Germany, who looked upon themſelves as unconcerned in the

the calamities of others, and who indeed will hardly defend their own rights, unleſs they are paid for it, now refuſed all ſuccour to king Charles; as even the emperor Joſeph himſelf did. And at laſt the Dutch, alſo following their example, reſolved to extricate themſelves from any farther ſhare in the war in Spain. On the other hand, the French faction in the parliament of England inſiſted, above all things, upon purſuing the Spaniſh war; with no other deſign, than to divert the arms of the confederates from the French king, who was now almoſt ruined; for with the ſame money that the queen maintained one ſoldier in Spain, ſhe might have maintained ſix in Flanders.

When Lerida was taken and plundered, while all men's expectations were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, the duke of Orleans, being attacked with various calumnies, and not able to undertake any thing of moment at that time in Catalonia, by reaſon of many and great diſappointments thrown in his way, as well by his friends as his enemies, was ſent for and returned to Madrid, where he aſſiſted at the ſolemnity of chriſtening the young prince royal of Spain, of whom the queen had been lately delivered.

While theſe things were thus tranſacted in the camp, general Stanhope, in order to engage the Engliſh to proſecute the war in Spain, concluded a treaty of commerce with king Charles, by which the Engliſh were allowed a very advantageous trade to the Indies. Stanhope inſinuated himſelf ſo much into that prince's favour, that it was hard to ſay, whether he had the intereſt of his native country, or that of king Charles, moſt at heart.

The Portugueze, having loſt the greateſt part of their troops, and being alſo terrified at the death of their king, as well as at the great ſlaughter of their men at Almanza in Spain, fled to their churches for devotion, as if religion had been their only profeſſion. The image of St. James was ſolemnly carried about in proceſſion; by which kind of perambulations, thoſe devotees fancied they ſhould work out their own ſalvation. But, as on the one hand it muſt be confeſſed that the worſhip of God, and the due obſervance of religious duties, is a proper refuge

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refuge and conſolation in times of adverſity; ſo, on the other, God alſo requires that we ſhould not be wanting to ourſelves, but that men ſhould alſo exert their own endeavours, eſpecially ſince it is univerſally allowed that fortune may be aided by induſtry. The duke of Oſſuna was not unmindful of this truth, when he ſeized the opportunity, which the circumſtances of the times afforded him, to make himſelf maſter of the town of Maura, on the frontier of Portugal. The marquis de Baya alſo ſeized the bridge of Olivenza upon the river Guadiana, and threatened to beſiege that city; which he would have actually done, if the arrival of four regiments of infantry from England had not inſpired the Portugueze with freſh courage to leave their altars, and again to take up their arms. Upon this the Spaniards, having broken the bridge of Olivenza, and raiſed contributions from the inhabitants, retired within their own frontiers.

By reaſon of the truce in Italy already mentioned, and that St. Nicholas's arm at Tolentino had now ceaſed to ſweat blood (as the ſtatue of Hercules is ſaid to have done of old), the people of that country entertained great hopes of peace. The pope alſo, on the ſame account, and becauſe the French king had privately ſolicited him to promote a peace with the emperor, appointed ſolemn litanies to be ſaid, and proceſſions to be made for nine days together; and in a fit of paternal affection for his children, he granted a pardon of ſins to the living and the dead, and an adjournment of the puniſhments to be inflicted on ſouls in purgatory for a thouſand years. And laſtly, out of the plenitude of his power, he, with great clemency, and more than apoſtolical authority, iſſued his faculties of indulgence and diſpenſation to all thoſe who ſhould pay due devotion to the images, temples, altars, and relics of the ſaints, or retire from the world into monaſteries, or ſhould crawl up the holy ſtairs on their knees, or perform other ſuch like ceremonies of their religion.

There is nothing which the Italians hold in greater veneration than theſe things. And therefore, during that time, all that were to be met with every where, and in every town, were at their devotions, either miſerably bemoaning themſelves before the images, or walking

on pilgrimages to distant shrines, or sometimes playing on instruments, that so they might be intitled to the benefit of the indulgence. For they were assuredly persuaded, that whatsoever hardships they endured by mortifying their bodies, would be proportionably spared to their souls of eternal punishment. And thus were the Italians employed at this time.

After the truce was concluded with count Medavi, the emperor turned his thoughts how to get possession of the kingdom of Naples, while the confederates were consulting about an attempt upon Toulon.

Attempt upon Toulon.

This design, the earl of Peterborough said, was first concerted by him with the duke of Savoy, and that he laid the whole plan of this secret expedition. On the contrary, the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin insisted, that they were the first projectors of it. But whoever first proposed it to the queen, I remember well, that the excellent Sir Isaac Newton, who was no lover of war, had some discourses with me about attacking Toulon, two years before the attempt was made upon it: but there appeared so many and so great difficulties to A—— C——, who knew the place and the roads about it, that he differed in opinion from Sir Isaac, not only on account of the difficulties of the place itself, but also of the disinclination of the rest of the confederates, which he always suspected in relation to that affair: forasmuch as by this one action, all the maritime power of the popish princes would be lost, and the whole dominion of the Mediterranean sea thereupon would also fall into the hands of the English and Dutch; from which the emperor Joseph was as much averse, as he was ambitious to gain the sovereignty of Italy.

The queen of England pressed and earnestly entreated the emperor, by the earl of Manchester and other ministers, to unite his forces with the duke of Savoy, and to promote the designed expedition into France. The emperor utterly denied that he could send forces thither, since he had resolved to reduce the kingdom of Naples to his obedience. The queen's ministers made answer, "That no "time of the year would be unseasonable for the expedition to Naples; "but

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" but that as ſoon as Toulon ſhould be taken, they would find a way " whereby the emperor ſhould eaſily take poſſeſſion of Naples as well as " Sicily:" but, after ſeveral diſpatches back and forward, when the confederates found they could no way prevail with the emperor to put off his expedition to Naples, they were now deſirous that the duke of Savoy ſhould aſſemble the confederate forces, and undertake the whole expedition himſelf, in concert with Sir John Norris, one of the Engliſh admirals. The emperor, when he underſtood this, not conſidering that he was indebted to the Engliſh for his own ſafety, ſent prince Eugene, to accompany the duke of Savoy. When the Engliſh ſaw how few ſoldiers prince Eugene had along with him, his coming gave them great cauſe of ſuſpicion.

THE duke of Savoy made a feint to draw off the French army, and led them farther from the ſea ſhore, as if he intended to march by the way of Vigon and Aoſt, and to the frontiers of Savoy: but when the marſhal de Theſſe had drawn his forces that way, in order to ſtop him in his march, the duke of Savoy made a ſudden turn with the utmoſt expedition, through the mountains of Liguria and the Alps next to the ſea. The greatneſs of this undertaking filled the enemy with confuſion: for the mountains were ſo inacceſſible, the rocks ſo craggy, and the paſſes ſo narrow in thoſe parts, that in many places the ſoldiers were forced to hand their arms from one to another: and the French king had taken care to fortify all the paſſes of the river Var, and ſuch others as he judged to ſtand in need of fortification. The army had been furniſhed at Turin with proviſions for a fortnight: but as there was no road for any carriage to paſs, the duke of Savoy was under a neceſſity to make uſe of mules and pack-horſes; which, in thoſe precipices, frequently ſunk under their burthens through heat, as the ſoldiers alſo did. The fame of this expedition filled all Europe with admiration: and the French king was greatly troubled at his being invaded on that ſide by the duke of Savoy; and ſent orders to the marſhal de Theſſe, who was then hovering about Mount Cenis, to haſten with his army to the relief of Toulon; for now he was aſſured that the duke of Savoy's march was intended thither.

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THE duke of Savoy purſued his march; and having paſſed Mount Tende, kept on his way through the mountains, without intermiſſion, till he came to the bay of Nice: where he no ſooner arrived, than ſeeing the fleet riding there at anchor, he ſent for Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, the admiral. The next day the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene went on board the admiral to take a ſailor's dinner. They ſhewed themſelves ſo conformable to their company in their converſation, their eating and drinking, their way of thinking, and even of ſpeaking, that Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, full of courage and good hopes, wrote to the miniſtry in England, that he had never before had a proſpect of a more ſucceſsful expedition, and that every thing went according to their wiſh. However, he obſerved that prince Eugene was more reſerved and ſparing of his words than the duke of Savoy; and on rather ſlight grounds ventured to deſcribe the virtues, the inclinations, the reſolutions, as well as the perſons of both theſe princes.

THE duke of Savoy having now taken meaſures for paſſing the Var, the French thought it high time there to make an effort to oppoſe his progreſs: wherefore they caſt up intrenchments along the banks of the river; and the towns-people every where gathered in their corn and forage, leſt the enemy ſhould reap the benefit of it.

WHEN the duke of Savoy had reſted and refreſhed his army, he advanced to the river Var, reſolving to paſs it wherever he could force the enemy's intrenchments. To facilitate the paſſage, Sir Cloudeſly Shovel furniſhed him with boats and oars to tranſport his army, and at the ſame time haraſſed the enemy with a continual fire from his ſhips. The enemy's forces, which were to have hindered the duke of Savoy's paſſage of the river, left their works unfiniſhed, ſome of them retiring to Antibes, and others into the neighbouring woods, to obſtruct the Savoyards in their march through thoſe narrow paſſes. The retreat of thoſe forces had ſo plain an appearance of a flight, as greatly encouraged the duke of Savoy's ſoldiers; for none of the French had any expectation of the Savoyards being ſo near.

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THE duke of Savoy leaving Antibes on the left hand, and La Grace on the right, marched through the plain of Vaiſon to the woods and rough grounds: and without any loſs of time, he alſo ſurmounted all the difficulties in thoſe woods before-mentioned, and arrived at Frejus; where he was highly complimented by the biſhop of that place, who nevertheleſs poſted away to Paris, to acquaint the king with what he had ſeen. After this, he ordered the foot to make a ſhort halt, and ſent the horſe before through a valley. He was now within two day's march of Toulon. In this ſtage of his march, he encountered many impediments: but, leſt he ſhould expoſe his ſoldiers to the hazard of a battle when they were fatigued with their journey, he made very ſlow marches, and in four days time came in ſight of Toulon, where he thought fit to allow his men ſome time to refreſh their ſpirits.

WHEN the marſhal de Theſſe perceived theſe proceedings, he was in great pain for the ſafety of Toulon; and decamping from Mount Cenis, redoubled his marches every day, ſending the horſe before, with ſtrict orders not to ſtop till they came to their journey's end, leſt they ſhould be prevented by the enemy: and, leſt the duke of Savoy ſhould get poſſeſſion of the avenues to the city, Theſſe himſelf made uſe of waggons and carriages for his foot, and haſtened thither with the utmoſt expedition: for he came not above four hours before the enemy; and ſo prevented the danger by the favour, as it was commonly ſaid, of the confederates. As ſoon as Theſſe arrived there, he threw up intrenchments on two ſides of the town; the one towards the port and ſhipping, the other on the inland ſide towards France: and he commanded the ſoldiers, whom he kept continually at work, to draw a line as well for the defence of the army as of the town. The entrance into the port was very ſtrongly fortified with cannon, ſo that no more than one ſhip could enter it at once. This fortification, now made by Theſſe's order, extending from his camp to the ſea, rendered the town inacceſſible, which was before almoſt open on the land ſide.

SIR CLOUDESLY SHOVEL'S fleet rode at anchor at the iſlands of Hyeres: and the admiral himſelf, being tired out with the tedious delays

delays of the Savoyards, and the report of the deſigns of the marſhal de Theſſe, deſired the duke of Savoy either to undertake the ſiege, or to attack the enemy, before they had finiſhed their works. Either the duke of Savoy himſelf, or prince Eugene, made anſwer, that they muſt proceed with ſafety: and after ſome freſh pretences of delay were made uſe of, the duke of Savoy was ſupplied from the fleet with ſuch inſtruments for the undertaking as he had complained that he wanted. Faſcines alſo and bavins were prepared; but ſeveral days were ſpent in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and every thing went on much more ſlowly than the Engliſh were made to believe: for they were perſuaded that the French would hardly ſhut the gates againſt them, and that when the duke of Savoy ſhould appear before it, nothing could hinder him from plundering the city, and deſtroying the port.

The north wind, which had blown inceſſantly for many days together, prevented the fleet from entering the port: but at length the wind turning gently about to the ſouth, Sir Cloudeſly Shovel gave the ſignal for ſailing; upon which the ſhips weighed anchor, and made up to the mouth of the port: and when the ſame ſouth wind blew ſtronger, the fleet entered the mouth of the river with full ſails. There they met with ſome interruption from the booms and chains laid acroſs it: but, after theſe were broke, and two forts bombarded and demoliſhed by the gallant ſailors, Sir Cloudeſly, with flying colours, entered the road, which extended ſix miles within land. There they made a deſcent; and the ſailors, by the order of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel and Sir John Norris, with their uſual intrepidity and courage, environed and took other forts upon the ſhore, and ſtuck at no attempt in order to make themſelves maſters of Toulon; for there were cannon, arms, ammunition, and an infinite quantity of military ſtores of all kinds. And now the French were ſo terrified with the great danger of their fleet which lay in the harbour, that they hauled their ſhips of war further up within land: and ſo apprehenſive were they of being attacked by the confederate fleet, that they ſunk fifteen of their own ſhips, covered over with wetted wool and hides, in the deep.

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In the mean time, after a prodigious diſcharge of the great guns from the confederate fleet, Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, impatient of delay, entreated the duke of Savoy to make ſome attempt before they loſt the opportunity of doing any thing to the purpoſe. He himſelf burned one or two of the enemy's ſhips; and the fire ſpreading from thence to others, endangered many more. When Sir Cloudeſly Shovel had prepared ſome veſſels with pitch, flax, ſulphur, and other combuſtible matter, which they call fire-ſhips, he diſpatched a certain perſon to the duke of Savoy, to acquaint him that he was now ready to force his way into the inner port; and to preſs him to make an attack from his camp, ſo that when they ſhould have once come within it, the ſhips might either come cloſe up to the port, which he entreated him to do ſpeedily, and before the French ſuccours could join them, or his own proviſions ſhould be exhauſted. But the land forces contrived ſtill farther and farther delays; though at this very time the duke of Savoy received a ſupply of money from England: and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who was ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation of affairs, leſt the opportunity ſhould be loſt, and ſo grand an enterprize miſcarry in the very port, ſent of his own accord to the land forces many things not only for carrying on the works, but even for their ſubſiſtance.

The duke of Savoy, who wanted many things neceſſary to a ſiege, but above all, the will, no ſooner ſaw the enemy's forces encreaſing on every ſide, but he ſent for anſwer to Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, that now there was not an opportunity, and beſides that he was in want of many things.

The ſiege of Toulon raiſed.

He raiſed the ſiege of Toulon, and gave orders to his army to retreat by the way of Voconii Forum, at the very time when the ſhips had begun to enter the port. The land forces therefore, not having performed any thing, endeavoured to cover their ſhameful conduct with an excuſe for their own tardineſs, as if they had laboured under a ſcarcity of every thing, though they did not name any particulars. Thus they returned ſafe and ſound to the river Var, the ſame way they came, but with much more ſpeed and longer marches than they had advanced: and marſhal de Theſſe did not think fit to purſue enemies who were thus retreating of their own accord.

SIR CLOUDESLY SHOVEL laid all this heavily to heart, deeply regretting, that when they were aſſured of victory, they had through treachery let the opportunity of obtaining it ſlip through their hands; and ſent a certain perſon to England, to inform the queen's miniſters of the miſcarriage. He himſelf left the port full of vexation, and ſoon ſteered his courſe towards England.

WHEN this news came to England, the common people, who judge of every thing by the event, and according to their own conjectures, reported many things, which no man of ſenſe would raſhly confirm. Thus neither the emperor nor the duke of Savoy eſcaped cenſure. The miniſters themſelves alſo ſpake of the ſame tranſactions in the vulgar ſtyle, both to humour the populace, and to eſcape the like cenſures themſelves from their countrymen. The French firſt confirmed the report in England, that the deſign againſt Toulon was betrayed, in hopes to ſow diſcord among us: but all prudent men confidently affirmed that there was leſs ground for that opinion than was commonly believed; becauſe, though the treachery were certain, it was much more proper, as things ſtood, to conceal it, than to have it now confirmed.

PRINCE EUGENE wrote to his friends in England, to excuſe himſelf from being thought acceſſary to this affair. But how deſirous the emperor was that the Engliſh ſhould deſiſt from that enterprize, he himſelf ſhewed plainly from the beginning: and the count de Caſtelli unwarily dropped an expreſſion here in England, that it would be very diſagreeable to the emperor to ſee all the power of the catholics at ſea ruined at one ſtroke. This count was in the retinue of the emperor's ſiſter, who being contracted to the king of Portugal, was at that time conducted thither by the way of England. In ſhort, this was the iſſue of a deſign well laid; in which the French king had no way prevented the confederates, before it came to be put in execution: and this ſeems to be a clear proof of treachery, that the French had not ſo much as ſecured the paſſes.

SIR CLOUDESLY SHOVEL, looking upon all this, and particularly on the duke of Savoy's retreat, with indignation, bombarded the port of

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of Toulon, with intent either to encourage the duke of Savoy to return to the attack, or at leaſt to ſtop the enemy from falling upon his rear. But theſe pains might all have been ſpared; for the duke was already ſo far advanced, that his retreat ſeemed rather a flight: whereupon the ſhips weighed anchor, and Sir Cloudeſly falling down the river, hoiſted ſail, and made the beſt of his way directly towards England. For the ſeaſon was ſo far ſpent, that he had no time to loſe in his return home: he, therefore, leaving a few ſhips at Barcelona to guard the coaſt, and furniſhing Gibraltar with all neceſſaries, paſſed the Streights, and entered the ocean. When he came into the bay of Biſcay, the ſkies began to be overcaſt; and there was not a ſtar to be ſeen for many nights. The commanders, who lay by till towards the evening, did not know whereabouts they were: however, they purſued their courſe, with a too fair wind and tide too, without ſending any ſhips before, or ſo much as making proper uſe of their ſkill in navigation.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel loſt.

The admiral-ſhip, therefore, about the firſt watch, ſtruck upon the rocks of the iſle of Scilly, as did ſome other ſhips alſo, and were there caſt away, together with Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, the admiral himſelf, and all the paſſengers and ſailors, who periſhed to a man: but the ſame wave which daſhed Sir Cloudeſly Shovel upon the rocks, is ſaid to have waſhed the lord Durſley from off them. This error being at laſt obſerved by Sir George Byng, the other ſhips immediately tacked about, and with the utmoſt difficulty eſcaped the rocks: ſo that, after much labour and perſeverance of the ſailors, the reſt of the fleet arrived ſafe at Portſmouth, in a few days, under Byng's command: by all which we may obſerve how neceſſary thought and diligence are to the ſafety of men, and how many and various rocks there are to ſplit upon.

When the news of this freſh miſcarriage reached London, it greatly increaſed the cares of the queen's miniſters, and imbittered their grief for the diſappointment at Toulon. Such a ſorrow ſuddenly ſeized the minds of all men on the firſt report, that the like had never been ſeen among people of high rank in the memory of man. The earl of Godolphin, though a man of extraordinary moderation, hearing that Sir Cloudeſly was ſhipwrecked, is ſaid to have ſhewn ſuch tokens of

grief, as if he would have torn off the few locks that remained on his head: but, conſidering that grief is not allayed by tearing the hair, he dreſſed himſelf, and conſulted how to repair the misfortunes by double diligence.

SIR CLOUDESLY'S body being found ſoon after, was buried at the public charge in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a marble monument was erected in honour of his memory. He was greatly lamented not only by the ſailors, but all good men. Shovel was the favourite of the whigs, as Rook was of the tories: both of them were endowed with great virtues; and if they had any vices, theſe ought, after their death, to be buried in oblivion; as that alſo muſt, whatever it was, that Sir Cloudeſly Shovel had to ſay concerning the action at Toulon.

Expedition to Naples.

THE French intereſt in Italy having now begun to decline, the emperor Joſeph, little regarding the common cauſe of the confederates, or his brother's affairs in particular, nor ſo much as conſidering whether he acted adviſedly or no, reſolved to ſend about twelve thouſand men through Italy into the kingdom of Naples, under the command of the count de Thaun, at the very time when the duke of Savoy was upon his march into France. This reſolution was ſuſpected, and ſeemed to the Engliſh to be treacherous. The emperor would not hearken to the ſolicitations of his confederates to deſiſt from it, but ſlighted all they could ſay to him, for no other reaſon, but to give a proof of his ſovereignty to his confederates, as well as to the pope.

THE Italians were greatly afraid, leſt, even their lady of Loretto, who is held in the higheſt veneration among them, ſhould now remove again, as ſhe had done before: wherefore the pope took away the plate and jewels, and denounced grievous penances againſt whoever ſhould preſume to violate it.

THE Engliſh began now to think the money they had advanced to the emperor the laſt year, by way of loan, for the deliverance of Italy, ill beſtowed upon him, and laid the blame of the whole matter upon the duke of Marlborough. As this obſtinacy of the emperor rendered him odious

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to the Engliſh, ſo the whole courſe of his life rendered him a greater object of hatred among his own people, than any of his anceſtors had ever been. But this buſineſs is not ſo properly to be aſcribed to the emperor's obſtinacy, as to his treachery: for it is certainly known, that he was then in treaty about a compoſition with the French king; and fooliſhly, without any conſideration, would have quarrelled with the pope.

COUNT THAUN, when he went upon this expedition, being, as is uſual with the imperialiſts, in want of every thing, complained of his neceſſities to the emperor. The imperial miniſters made anſwer, "That this ought not to delay his enterprize: that the imperialiſts "ſhould not meet with any oppoſition in Italy: for, ſaid they, wherever "they come, they will find plenty of every thing; and the corn in the "fields is now ripe." And thus, for ſome time, their wants were ſupplied only by hopes.

WHEN the imperialiſts began their march, they cruelly ſeized all they met with in the Marca Anconitana; laying under contribution of corn and money the towns and countries in their way, through Rimini, Ancona, and Narnia, the country of the ancient Sabines, along the Flaminian road: at length, without obſerving any military order, they advanced to the river Tiber; and count Thaun having ordered a camp to be marked out over againſt Tivoli, himſelf entered the city with two hundred horſe.

As there were two factions in Italy, the imperialiſts met with different treatment from the people in their march; but how the people of Italy were affected towards them, they regarded as a matter of perfect indifference.

ABOUT this time a ſedition aroſe within the walls of Rome, which began among thoſe who lived on the other ſide of the Tiber; but was ſoon appeaſed by the aſſiſtance of the prieſts, with their ſacrifices and holy water.

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THE prince of Burgheſe was at that time in the French intereſt; and ſignior Livio Odeſchaletri, a man of a long eſtabliſhed influence, made uſe of all his own and his friend's power to ſerve the emperor. Prince Pamphilio alſo eſpouſed the ſame cauſe; a moſt noble youth, whoſe ſiſter, a lady of extraordinary parts and beauty, the conſtable Colonna had married: for ſhe, being warmly attached to the emperor's intereſt, by her authority and inſinuating addreſs, engaged both her brother and her huſband, and a multitude of her admirers, in the imperial party. The pope ſent a compliment of thanks to count Thaun, becauſe he had not done any violence to the chapel of our lady of Loretto, and had ſpared the churches. Count Thaun deſired of the pope the favour of an audience, and his bleſſing. The pope refuſed this, out of fear, unleſs his armed men ſhould firſt depart out of the city; but if that were done he promiſed to grant his requeſt, both of his prayers, and every thing elſe that was honourable; on this condition, that he ſhould forbear doing any act of ſacrilegious violence, and that his train of German ſoldiers ſhould not return again thither.

MANY of the Germans who came to the camp at Tivoli, were cut off by an autumnal peſtilence, very dreadful in thoſe parts, and about the river Teverone very frequent: for the air, eſpecially when the wind is at ſouth, being charged with the putrid and offenſive ſmell of the lake Baſſanello, and the vapours of the neighbouring marſhes, at that time of the year, renders the places in the neighbourhood of Rome, as well as all Campania, waſte and deſolate. A diſtemper too broke out among the horſes *, which made them almoſt intolerably offenſive in the camp: wherefore count Thaun left the land of the Sabines, and marched through Gabie, the way to Tuſculum; and from thence to Velitri, famous for being the birth-place of Auguſtus. From thence he ſent out his horſe a foraging through the plain, by the lake Pontino. He proceeded through Setio and Piperno, to Taracina. This town is ſituated on the frontiers of Naples, and near the ſea, over which alſo hang the ruins of the old caſtle of

* In the Latin original *corrupti etiam equi macie*, a *phthiſis*, or conſumption brought on by bad air, and improper food.

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Auxur. From hence he ſent his horſe before to the citizens of Fondi, to demand their ſubmiſſion. On the rumour of count Thaun's approach, the people of Fondi went in a body to the French governor, declaring to him, that neither they nor the reſt of the ſubjects of the kingdom of Naples could ſuffer the emperor's forces to be refuſed admiſſion into their city; and therefore adviſed him to conſider of his own danger. The French governor, alarmed at this declaration, and ſuſpecting the affections of the citizens, withdrew from Fondi, and retired to Gaeta, which is a French garriſon, oppoſite to the town of Nola, and ſituated upon the promontory of the gulf of Gaeta, and more famous for being the burying-place of the duke of Bourbon, for its ſtupendous rock, and ſome remains of antiquity, than for any thing elſe.

And now both armies ſtrove which of them ſhould be the more ſpeedy, the French to fly, or the Germans to advance. There was not a city in thoſe parts, except Gaeta only, which was not open to the count de Thaun; which may probably ſeem incredible to any one who is in the leaſt acquainted with the ancient tranſactions recorded in the hiſtories of former times: but it is no wonder the citizens did not ſhut their gates againſt the imperialiſts, ſince now indeed they had none. Neither did count Thaun march away from Gaeta in a direct line; but having paſſed the Formian hills, by the way of Nola, he ſhaped his courſe with a view to croſs the river Gariglian, near Menturni. When he had paſſed the Gariglian, he marched over a plain ten miles broad, and leaving Seſſa on the right hand, and Sueſſa on the left, he alſo paſſed the river Volturno which runs among the Maſſican hills, without any oppoſition. The Germans being well refreſhed here with Falernian wine, advanced towards Capua, without any apprehenſion of being ſtopt by the enemy among thoſe mountains, where they could ſwill themſelves with wine, as Hannibal's army was of old. No ſooner did they deſcend from the mountains, than the country of Campania Felix, or Provence de Lavoro, lay open to their view; which for the temperature of climate, as well as fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, was the fineſt country they had ever ſeen. They were therefore determined not to be diſcouraged by any

dangers, but at all hazards to make themſelves maſters of the province of Lavoro. A bellyful of meat and wine, which is found to enervate the Africans, gives vigour and courage to the Germans.

THE French, having thrown a garriſon into Capua, while the count de Thaun was at a great diſtance, boaſted how bravely they would defend it. But now, when they heard of his approach, either their courage failed them, or elſe they had not forces to reſiſt him; ſo that recommending their king's intereſt to the fidelity of the citizens, they ſuddenly withdrew themſelves from Capua. The Capuans were not now what they had been formerly, but having learnt the evil conſequences of obſtinacy by ſad experience of their forefathers, and taking warning by the remaining heaps of the ruins of their ancient city, which old misfortunes, notwithſtanding ſo many ages paſt, they ſtill looked upon as if they had been recent, made anſwer, that they were unaccuſtomed to war, and thought themſelves incapable of judging of controverſies, otherwiſe than to ſubmit to the powers for the time being; but, however, that they would conſult with the reſt of the Neapolitans, and ſhare the ſame fate with them. The governor, alarmed at this anſwer, drew out the forces he had brought into the city, and marched off. In the mean time, the Capuans, of their own accord, ſent deputies to the count de Thaun, to offer him their beſt ſervices. The count, confiding in the affections of the citizens, left the Falernian country, and advanced to Capua; and, upon his approach, as ſoon as he came down into the fruitful plains, towards the Appian road, not far from the Campanian bridge, he was met by the Capuans, who congratulated him on his arrival. When he entered Capua, he received the ſubmiſſion of the citizens to king Charles; and there he was informed that the inhabitants had taken arms, and marched through Puglia, Abruzzo, and the territories of Ancona, in the name of king Charles. The governor of thoſe provinces alſo, with the greateſt affection, received count Thaun's orders and ſoldiers, and furniſhed his army with all neceſſaries. Deputies came to him likewiſe even from Naples itſelf, profeſſing their readineſs and zeal to obey his commands.

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ABOUT this time, count Scarpileggio gathered together a band of robbers, and over-ran the countries of Puglia and Ancona, in the emperor's name, deſtroying all before him. In the mean while, the duke D'Avellino, a man of great authority, ſummoning his followers together, declared for king Charles, and gave great rewards to ſome who were well acquainted with the country, to carry letters from him to count Thaun. The count having marched his army through Campania, made a halt not far from Acerre and Averſa. Thither all the people of Naples came in crowds to meet and congratulate him. When this was obſerved by the viceroy, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours at Naples, by perſuaſions and promiſes, to confirm the people in their allegiance, putting them in mind alſo of the favours done them in former times: but they, having been too long indulged in idleneſs and pleaſures, were become ſo unmindful of what was paſt, and fond of innovations, that they were not by any means to be kept within the bounds of their duty.

THE duke D'Eſcalona the viceroy, encouraging his men, planted cannons upon the walls, and iſſued his orders every where for the ſecurity of the city. In the mean time, the chief magiſtrate and citizens, with a long train of the people, marched out to count de Thaun's camp; declaring to him how ready the whole city was to do whatſoever he ſhould require of them. Thaun, thinking no time was to be loſt, broke up his camp at Acerre; and having ſent his declaration before, advanced towards the city, to the great joy of the citizens; who not only embraced the German horſemen, but even their very horſes too, and holding them either by the ſtirrups or bridles, conducted them in the moſt ſervile manner, like their grooms or pages, into the city. As ſoon as the people of Naples ſaw the German enſigns, they opened their gates, and hurried out to meet them.

THE duke D'Eſcalona the viceroy, in the mean time, prepared every thing that was neceſſary, to make a ſhew of defending the city; but having privately conſulted a few friends, he reſolved to take meaſures for an eſcape; and, ſuddenly ordering his barge to be got ready, he ſecretly went on board with a very few of his intimates, leaving

leaving all his goods and furniture behind in the palace, and outrowing the courſe of the ſwifteſt ſhips, had paſſed by Megara, Procida, and Baiæ, before intelligence was had of his flight. But as ſoon as he had reached Miſſeno, he ſent orders to the commanders of the guards which he had left in garriſon at Iſchia, Cumæ, and other places, to come to Gaeta the very firſt opportunity. The Spaniſh ſoldiers went over to the Germans. Count Thaun diſarmed the French, and diſmiſſed them. As the viceroy paſſed along the coaſt of Gaeta, he provided the garriſon there with every thing neceſſary for their defence.

As ſoon as the count Thaun entered Naples, the whole city was filled with joy. The mob fell upon the French; ſought particularly for Buliſone, a very worthy man, who was king Philip's printer, ſearching and plundering his houſe; and, in all places, outrageouſly pulled down king Philip's ſtatues, pictures, and arms.

While Thaun was providing all things neceſſary for a ſudden attack of the caſtles, he treated with the governors about a ſurrender. As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of theſe, and was received with the loud acclamations of the people, he began to take meaſures for ſettling the government. Count Martinitz, now viceroy, made a diſtribution of four thouſand crowns among the mob; but the next day impoſed a tax of three hundred and fifty thouſand upon the citizens.

Count Thaun, confiding in the affections of the citizens, ſent forces to reduce other fortified places. The inhabitants, hearing of the approach of the Germans, reſolved neither to ſhut their gates nor defend their walls; whereupon, the French governors were forced ſuddenly to evacuate thoſe places, and put to hard ſhifts to ſave their own lives. But within three days, ſome Neapolitans, deſirous of a change, and wanton through idleneſs, ſent private letters to the viceroy, who had fled, intimating, that there was a great inclination of all the citizens to change, and earneſtly entreating him to return.

These letters being intercepted, and brought to the count de Thaun, he reſolved, without loſs of time, to lay ſiege to Gaeta. Therefore, ſending

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ſending his army thither, he beſieged Gaeta a long time; at length, having made a breach in the walls towards the weſt, and being ready to make an aſſault, the Spaniards threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to king Charles. The viceroy alſo, within an hour after, delivered up himſelf, with the citadel and garriſon, without making any other conditions, but as priſoners of war.

THE whole kingdom of Naples being now reduced by the Imperialiſts, count Martinitz was declared viceroy in the emperor's name. The Spaniards, who had the charge of the treaſury, came to the count de Thaun, bringing him the public accounts, with profeſſions of their fidelity; at the ſame time they delivered up to him what money was in their hands, and ſhewed him how much of the public revenue was ſtill in arrear; informing him withal what various kinds of projects the French had deviſed to gratify their avarice; which ſerved for a precedent for the Germans to follow their example.

FOR the whole kingdom ſwarmed with a ſort of officers whom they called ſbirri, and collectors; and whoſoever of theſe was the moſt cruel and oppreſſive in his office, was looked upon as the moſt worthy man and the beſt ſubject. Theſe men alſo, beſides raiſing the public levies, contrived various ways and means for increaſing their own power and private profit; and provided there could be but a plauſible pretext invented for it, that was thought ſufficient for the collectors to extort the money. The French exacted gifts, as they called them, through every province and community, and took up money in the name of loans, which they charged upon the revenue of the enſuing year. And, laſtly, what was moſt grievous of all to the Neapolitans, the French, in their luſt, did not ſpare even their wives: but though the Germans, who are naturally more addicted to wine than women, abſtained from thoſe debaucheries, yet they were as rigid in their extortions of money as ever the French had been.

AND now the marquis del Vaſto, and the prince di Sarmonetta, and other Neapolitan nobles, who had been ſufferers for their attachment to the emperor, and proſcribed by king Philip, on this turn of fortune,

tune, returned from their hiding-places, and were reſtored to their eſtates.

THE count de Thaun, reſolving not to leave any part of the war in Naples unfiniſhed, and knowing that the emperor intended to recal him into Milan, and to conſtitute cardinal Grimani viceroy of that kingdom, made no ſcruple to conſult his own intereſt, but ſent forces into the Baſilicate and Abruzzo, which were defended by the duke di Atri, to receive the ſubmiſſion of the cities to king Charles, and to give notice on what day to attend him at Naples. There was ſo great and ſo favourable a diſpoſition towards king Charles in all the provinces, that the citizens, as ſoon as they heard the Germans were coming, drove the French garriſons, in deteſtation of their luſt and inſolence, out of their cities, and kept poſſeſſion of them for king Charles. The garriſons which were in Reggio and Brindiſi ſhut their gates; but theſe cities alſo, though two of the ſtrongeſt in the kingdom, were, after a ſhort ſiege, reduced to the obedience of king Charles.

As ſoon as the deputies met at Naples, count Thaun returned thanks to them all in general, for their having ſhewed ſo much zeal to put their cities into his hands, diſappointed the deſigns of the enemy, and maintained their own liberties. He remitted the fines which he underſtood the French had impoſed upon ſome for their freedom of ſpeech, and granted freſh privileges to ſuch cities as he thought to be well affected to the emperor. On the contrary, he impoſed heavier burdens upon thoſe who had ſpoken againſt the emperor, and the right of king Charles, or had borne arms againſt them. The goods of ſuch were confiſcated: but in a little time after this, the emperor's friends and his enemies fared both alike; for the Germans did not make good any one thing that they had promiſed.

CARDINAL GRIMANI, being made viceroy, within four months after his appointment to that ſtation, ſeized the eſtates of many for the public uſe, and forced others to leave their country. Grimani himſelf laid hands upon their effects, and applied himſelf to invent the moſt oppreſſive methods of raiſing money. By all theſe tranſactions and revolutions,

a kingdom,

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a kingdom, rich in lands, cattle, and money, became a deſart. The people, wearied out with many grievous oppreſſions, began now again to think of returning to their former ſlavery to France; not conſidering that this inconſtancy of their minds was the root of all their evils.

Not long after this, cardinal Grimani died; to whom ſucceeded count Charles Boromeo, a religious man, and as acceptable to the people, as any viceroy or lieutenant of the emperor could be. For, as the temper of the French is changeable, airy, and confident, ſo that of the Germans is proud, cruel, and covetous; and this character of theſe nations is as applicable to the women as the men.

Campaign on the Rhine.

Upon the Upper Rhine, the marſhal de Villars, commander of the French army, perceiving the German forces to be weak, greatly inferior in number to his own, unprovided of every thing neceſſary for war, and even without a general, for prince Lewis of Baden died this year, reſolved to make an invaſion upon Germany, having firſt concerted meaſures with Monſ. de Broglio and Monſ. de Vivans. On the 22d day of May, therefore, having fixed and faſtened pontoons, which are a kind of boats, at Newburgh, he laid a bridge acroſs the Rhine, and marched his army over. After this, he unexpectedly routed ſome of the German foot, and marching on without delay towards the enemy's trenches, deſtroyed their ſcouts by the way, and killed ſome troops of the German horſe, which were ſent out for intelligence. When he came near the enemy's trenches, by break of day, undiſcovered, through the favour of a thick miſt, which covered them from the ſight of each other, he found the German camp empty; for the Germans, having notice of Villars's approach, had, through the favour of the ſame miſt, ſecretly decamped.

Being thus diſappointed of his hopes, he marched on to Raſtadt, the ſeat of the late prince of Baden. There he ſtayed four days; and over and above the contributions raiſed for his king, he alſo, by his own authority, and for his own private uſe, ſeverely extorted vaſt ſums of money under the names of fire-money, ſmoke-money, door-money, and every other pretext that could be invented. In the mean

mean time, Monſ. de Vivans with fifteen hundred horſe, defeated four troops of Germans in the month of May.

FROM Raſtadt, Villars marched on to Eſlinghen, where he found a large quantity of corn, and other proviſions. Thence he proceeded to Fortzheim, without meeting with any oppoſition from the Germans. From this place, on the laſt day of May, he moved his camp, and went on plundering to Stutgard, in order to lay the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and all the neighbourhood around him, under contribution. The contributions which he raiſed amounted to two hundred thouſand crowns; one half of which ſum was levied on the town of Eſlinghen, and the other on the diſtrict of Baden; beſides a vaſt quantity of corn alſo, which he exacted from all thoſe territories. After this he advanced to Schorndorp, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, and well provided with all things neceſſary for its defence. At firſt the garriſon ſhut the gates; but afterwards the townſpeople, terrified either with the name or the ſeverity of the marſhal de Villars, on his approach, turned out the ſmall garriſon, and opened their gates to the enemy. Here he found two mortars, and upwards of thirty great guns, and a large quantity of proviſions of all kinds. Then he advanced to Lorcha, where he ſuddenly attacked three thouſand Germans, and forced their camp. Thus he roved about plundering and deſtroying a large tract of Germany. And this march of his ſerved his turn better than if he had penetrated into Bavaria, as the French king is ſaid to have commanded him. This reſolution was certainly either taken by the French king after the battle of Blenheim, or elſe intruſted to the marſhal de Villars to be executed afterwards. Let others report what they pleaſe of it; for my part I ſhall leave it doubtful. By theſe depredations the money demanded was moſt rigorouſly extorted from the ſeveral provinces: but none of the French ever caſt any reflections upon Villars on that account, though he had, within a few months, amaſſed together more money in the name of contributions, than any other commander of an army is ſaid to have done before him; nay, it is affirmed, that he raiſed as much money in one year, as would have been ſufficient for the Germans to have carried on the war for ſeveral years.

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The elector of Hanover made general of the army.

WHILE all things were in this alarming ſituation, the confederates had again loſt the provinces upon the Rhine, if the entreaties of his allies, and the fortune of the houſe of Auſtria, had not ſeaſonably, and as it were providentially for thoſe provinces, raiſed up the elector of Hanover to undertake the command of the army upon the Rhine, in the very criſis of the greateſt danger. The elector of Hanover, therefore, who had acquired great eſteem among princes as well as reputation among all foreigners by his actions in the wars of Hungary and Flanders, and was alſo rich in money, compaſſionately beholding Germany undone by the enemy, and overcome by the entreaties of the confederates, generouſly took upon him the command of the German army upon the Upper Rhine, at this difficult time, rather to put a ſtop to the deſolation which was ſpreading over all the country, than out of any hopes of encreaſing his glory: for he had no confidence in the weak forces of thoſe provinces, nor in the formal promiſes of the court of Vienna. Beſides the auxiliary forces, he ſent orders alſo to ſome of his own to join him, which he incorporated with his army at his own expence, leſt he ſhould ſeem wanting to do all he could for the common cauſe, and the intereſt of the emperor. Neither did the elector in this difficult conjuncture require any thing of the emperor, who contributed no money to the charge of the war, but only that he would be pleaſed to promote him to the dignity formerly promiſed to his father, and ratify his electoral rights. He paid great regard to certain ſigns and omens, which the good women, who accompanied him at his ſetting out, pronounced to be very propitious.

As ſoon as the elector of Hanover came to the Rhine, he firſt took care to encourage the broken troops of the provinces, which at that time their flight had ſcattered up and down, and then drew them together into a body. But when he obſerved that the Germans were utterly unprovided with any thing neceſſary for war, and that their fields lay waſte and deſerted, he thought it beſt to allow them a little time, that the ſoldiers might recover their exhauſted ſpirits; and, by ſlight ſkirmiſhes accuſtomed them by degrees either ſtoutly to defend themſelves, or boldly to attack the enemy.

AND

And now, while the Germans were diſheartened at their late miſfortunes, and the enemy was in high ſpirits, and in poſſeſſion of accumulated riches, the marſhal de Villars, either depending upon the ſuperiority of his numbers, or elſe elated with his great wealth, lay in greater ſecurity than he ought to have done, with his camp divided. As ſoon as the elector of Hanover underſtood that Monſ. de Vivans, one of the French generals, was encamped at Offenburg, and had appointed a day for foraging, and that he was very careleſs in his out-guards, he ordered count Merci, with a ſelect party of ſoldiers, thither, to attack that leſſer camp.

On the 20th day of September 1707, count Merci undertook this charge; and with great expedition fell upon De Vivans's camp unexpectedly before day. As the French in the camp began to run up and down in confuſion, they were cut in pieces by the Germans. Monſ. de Vivans, being awaked out of his ſleep, endeavoured, but in vain, to put his army in order. The Germans put to the ſword ſuch of the enemies as reſiſted them; the reſt, flying to the woods, truſted to the thickets for their ſafety. Some, who had quitted their horſes, and fled into the woods, ſallied out again upon the Germans, to force their way through them. Monſ. de Vivans, giving up all for loſt, ſaid to his followers among the woods, "Do ye defend theſe, while I take "care of other matters; and if any misfortune happens, I will ſecure "you a retreat, and provide for all your ſafeties." When he had ſaid this, he did not wait to ſee the event, but provided for his own ſafety by flight. Some of the French, being quite ſpent with fatigue, threw down their arms without reſiſtance; and others fled to the marſhal de Villars's camp

In this fight twelve hundred of the French were killed, and two hundred taken, with ſix ſtandards or colours, thirteen hundred horſes, and a great quantity of baggage; and monſieur de Vivans himſelf narrowly eſcaped alive. Of the Germans, one colonel was killed, and thirty common ſoldiers.

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THE elector of Hanover made ſmall ſkirmiſhes every day: and when he ſaw that his men were equal in courage to the enemy, and alſo that they were greatly emboldened by the arrival of the Saxons, he reſolved to venture a battle. Villars, when he underſtood this, repaſſed the Rhine on the 20th of October: for he was ſatisfied with the booty he had taken this ſeaſon, and choſe rather to ſubmit to any thing than to expoſe the king's army and his own glory to any hazard. And now, as the autumn was rendered unwholeſome by continual rains, and the ſoldiers grew ſick, the elector of Hanover contenting himſelf with the late ſlaughter of the enemy, diſpoſed all his ſoldiers in winter-quarters in ſuch a manner, that in caſe of any emergency, a good army might be formed within a day's time; after which he returned with his retinue to Hanover.

THE marſhal de Villars having quartered his ſoldiers in the richeſt cities for the winter, promiſed them their pay, and in the mean time left them to plunder the citizens, to ſupply their preſent wants. France at that time laboured under great want of money, and intereſt was very high: therefore, the better to excuſe his rapine to the king, Villars offered to lend him a ſum. The provinces along the Rhine were, and indeed almoſt all France, was full of tax-gatherers and imperious collectors, who, beſides the winter-quarters for the armies, and the ſupplies levied for the public exigencies, took care to provide for their own private wants; whereby the people in thoſe parts were ſo grievouſly oppreſſed, that they flocked, as they are wont to do in their diſtreſſes, to the ſhrines of their ſaints for ſuccour, and left their houſes.

WHATEVER ſchemes the duke of Marlborough had formed for carrying on the war, they were all rendered abortive, partly by the loſs of the battle of Almanza, and partly by the miſcarriage at Toulon; and therefore all military action in Flanders was this year at a ſtand: for the duke of Marlborough did not think it proper to make any attempt till he could ſee what turn affairs would take in Spain, and alſo Provence, and what the king of Sweden intended to do in Germany:

many: he therefore, ſometimes by counter-marches, making various feints, as if he intended to fight the enemy, both defended what was in his poſſeſſion, and ſtrengthened the frontiers.

Loud clamours were raiſed in England concerning theſe things, as if the duke had purpoſely contrived means to prolong the war: but thoſe who now make his prudence a matter of reproach to him in England, do not conſider that the parliament had not yet undertaken to make any proviſion for the expence of ſieges. The matter was at this very time in debate: and while the allies were diſputing among themſelves, in what proportion, and on what conditions they ſhould defray the expences of beſieging a ſtrong town, the enemy had ſufficient time to ſecure their frontiers, and to encourage their ſoldiers. Neither would the emperor Joſeph now bear an equal ſhare of the burthen of the war: he contributed nothing towards it but his own bare authority; and yet he laid claim to every conqueſt. He demanded Flanders for himſelf: "but if, ſays he, the allies aſſign it to "my brother, let him bear the expence of it; and though that coun- "try be now in debt, yet it will in time be of value:" but he would not have his allies to think that he would baulk his own deſires, or deny his pleaſures for his brother's ſake.

The Dutch would have been very glad to eaſe themſelves honourably of this hard yoke of confederacy; and having rejected all new contracts with the emperor, and laid aſide all debates about the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands, they took upon themſelves the charge of ſieges on ſuch conditions as the emperor's ambaſſadors could hardly be perſuaded to conſent to: nor would even the Dutch themſelves have eaſily agreed to theſe, if their own ſafety had not been in danger, which depends much upon their keeping a good guard upon their frontiers. This affair was alſo greatly promoted in the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, by the exhortation of their nobles, who have great authority among them, and the artifices of their general officers, who hoped to become governors of cities and provinces in time of peace. On theſe accounts the forces of the republic were

greater

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greater than they would otherwiſe have been, and ſome of the Dutch were now very deſirous to extend their frontier. The earl of Albemarle, monſieur Waſſenaer, and others, were not wanting to encourage this diſpoſition, being in hopes of obtaining commands, and an opportunity to oblige their own friends: for we ſeldom ſee any who have not ſometimes a view to their own authority in the commonwealth.

Nor were the imperial generals at that time forgetful of their own private intereſts. They ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the giving up the fortified towns, as a barrier to the Dutch: for they every where plundered and pillaged all the emperor's kingdoms and dominions, which both in Italy and Hungary are full of governors and governments: and therefore the provinces which he ſubdues, add nothing to his treaſury; ſince their revenues are not brought into the emperor's exchequer, but to the governors; who value all things at their own rates, and over and above the public taxes, levy many others to gratify their own avarice.

The duke of Marlborough is reproachfully ſaid to have privately intereſted himſelf in the buſineſs of Flanders, that the government thereof might be left unſettled, though he publicly declared that the government of thoſe provinces was neither conferred upon him, nor would he accept of it, in caſe it ſhould be offered to him afterwards; and indeed many people inſiſted, that the duke could not have accepted of that government if he would, on account of the difference of his and their religion.

The Dutch earneſtly addreſſed themſelves ſometimes to the queen, and ſometimes to the duke of Marlborough, praying they might have certain cities, which they named, put into their hands by way of barrier: which gave occaſion to many conferences at the Hague, till they entered upon the buſineſs of the whole war, and the conduct thereof for the enſuing year: whereupon the ceſſion of the cities was deferred to another time, and nothing was yet concluded as to the government

of the frontiers; on which account the ſtates-general were enraged againſt the imperialiſts.

Two years had now elapſed ſince the French fleet, in a very ſhattered condition, had returned into harbour: but when the French king could not attempt any thing of conſequence to the main buſineſs of the war by naval expeditions, he reſolved thenceforward to make uſe of privateers: with which he reſolved to infeſt all the ſeas, and to appropriate to his own uſe a ſhare of the booty. Monſieur Fourbin, with a ſquadron of eight French ſhips of war under his command, attacked fifty Engliſh merchant ſhips, under the convoy of three men of war, off Liſbon; and took twenty of the merchants, and two of the men of war, after a ſtout reſiſtance. Here colonel Hunter, a Scotſman, was taken, who was newly made governor of a province in America; and monſieur de Villars, a Frenchman, attacked the iſlands of Majorca and Minorca, where the confederates had but ſlender garriſons.

Peter II. king of Portugal, dying this year, was ſucceeded by his ſon, John V. in the eighteenth year of his age; who being contracted to Mary-Anne, the emperor's ſiſter, concluded his marriage with her as ſoon as ſhe arrived at Liſbon, by the way of England.

After the conſort of king Philip had, as we have ſaid before, to the great joy of the Spaniards, brought forth a ſon, who at his baptiſm was named Lewis, the Spaniards choſe rather firmly to perſiſt in their allegiance to Philip, than truſt to the uncertain events of war, and the hopes of future iſſue from king Charles. In conſideration of this, and of what importance the hopes of iſſue would be towards confirming the affections of his people, king Charles ſent for the princeſs Elizabeth of Wolfembottle, the moſt beautiful lady of her time, who had been before contracted to him, to come immediately into Spain. The princeſs preparing for her journey by the way of Italy, paſſed the Alps: ſhe was met, congratulated, and entertained at the public expence, by the ambaſſadors of Venice, the dukes of Modena and

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and Parma, and the ſon of the great duke of Tuſcany: and, laſtly, the duke of Savoy, king Philip's father-in-law, made no ſcruple to ſalute her as queen of Spain; for, he ſaid, he would now rather be wanting to himſelf and his own blood, than to the emperor and his allies. This unheard-of complaiſance in the duke of Savoy, his incredible conſtancy and unwonted fidelity, afforded to many matter of ſuſpicion. Prince Eugene himſelf did not diſſemble his ſuſpicion of him; for he who can ſo eaſily untie the bonds of nature, will hardly be reſtrained by any civil obligation. King Charles's queen, who was convoyed by the Britiſh fleet, embarked on the coaſt of Genoa; and being ſoon landed at Barcelona, was there married to the king.

The king of Sweden in Germany.

THE king of Sweden having entered Germany in the foregoing year, found fault with the emperor, and treated him roughly, demanding reſtitution of all things to the princes, cities, and ſtates of Germany, according to the terms of the treaty of Oſnaburgh: and being provoked by the injuries and defection of Auguſtus king of Poland, who was already driven out of the kingdom, he inſiſted upon his making a formal abdication of it alſo by a ſolemn oath, which he preſcribed to him. The king of Sweden is ſuppoſed to have treated with the ambaſſadors of France, about entering into a treaty of peace by his mediation. He raiſed armies, impoſing contributions of money and men with great rigour upon the provinces: and, in order to provide for the ſecurity of religion, he treated with ſome princes of Saxony, and other places, about maintaining the doctrine of Luther, according to their laws and conſtitution; to which, unleſs king Auguſtus would give his conſent, and "return to a ſound mind," he ſaid, "he would either ſet up the ſon in the father's place, or elſe "transfer the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Saxony to another family of "the Saxon line."

MANY ſeemed to think that this method of compoſing differences in religion, would make the remedy worſe than the diſeaſe. Nor was the Swede looked upon as an enemy by many people in Germany: for moſt of the princes would have come into his ſentiments, and even into

into his camp too, if they had not looked upon this as an unſeaſonable time, and been afraid, leſt, while he conſulted the ſecurity of religion, he might break the grand alliance, and interrupt the confederate war.

It is certain, that what the king of Sweden complained of were no trivial matters. Nor was Auguſtus free from blame: who kept himſelf cloſe within the city, as the king of Sweden did in his camp, till every thing was performed according to the king's order. After this, the Swede forbore all outrages againſt the Saxons, and entered Dreſden alone, without either arms or guard, to make a friendly viſit to Auguſtus, in his preſent diſtreſſed ſtate, now vanquiſhed and diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom. This unheard-of enterprize of the king of Sweden, however imprudently undertaken, was, by many, looked upon and applauded as greater than the triumphs of the ancients; while the Swede was by others blamed for it: for there were ſome about Auguſtus, who adviſed him to deſtroy the king of Sweden. This ſolitary viſit would indeed have been a great exploit, if the ſucceeding times had not tarniſhed this magnanimity of his Swediſh majeſty with cruelty and imprudence: but that quality in the king, which, in the judgment of all men, was intitled to the praiſe of perſeverance, might naturally border on obſtinacy. I ſhall not, however, now enlarge upon the faults of this king, or his virtues, which were very great; or his exploits againſt the Moldavians, or his other expeditions: and the blemiſh which others aſcribe to his natural diſpoſition, I am willing to attribute to that ſavage ferocity, which is excited in the courſe of war.

The duke de Noailles, at this time, raiſed forces in Navarre, at the foot of the Pyrenean hills, and led them in autumn through Languedoc, into Spain, that he might the more ſtraiten the confederates. At length he penetrated into the inner parts of Spain, threatening to lay ſiege to Girone, and other places: but theſe troops, according to their orders from the French king, who found himſelf preſſed by the incurſions of the confederate forces, returned into France, to ſuccour and relieve his troops at Toulon.

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THE command of theſe was now given to the duke of Berwick, who had gained the general eſteem of all men, and by his conduct in Spain juſtly gained the higheſt reputation. The duke, without ſtopping any where, made a rapid march to the Rhone; but, as it commonly happens, the fame of his coming anticipated his arrival. The duke of Savoy, when he had intelligence that the duke of Berwick was in full march to join the marſhal de Theſſe, as if ſtruck of a ſudden with a pannic fear, immediately raiſed the ſiege of Toulon, and retired to the mountains, as we have before related.

IN order to repair the loſſes of the confederates in Spain, ſome propoſed to have prince Eugene, and others the duke of Marlborough, ſent thither. The Dutch declared abſolutely for putting a ſtop to all warlike enterprizes there; and even for an entire ceſſation of arms in Italy too. The duke of Savoy, in order to wheedle the queen of Great Britain out of her money, made large profeſſions of firm attachment, and of the extraordinary ſervices which he himſelf, and his friends, would render to the common cauſe in future; and ſent the duke of Marlborough ſome paintings of the famous Titian; for which, it may be truly ſaid, the people of Great Britain paid a very dear price.

THE whole ſummer being ſpent without any action in Flanders, and all the conferences at an end relating to the management of the war, the duke of Marlborough took ſhipping for England, where he arrived in two days. Some extolled him to the ſkies, becauſe he had not loſt any of the acquiſitions which he had made before: but others loaded him with various calumnies, and particularly charged him with endeavours to prolong the war for his own private emolument.

ABOUT this time the duke of Devonſhire, a ſtrenuous aſſerter of the liberties of England, and an illuſtrious example of ancient courteſy and hoſpitality, departed this life in a good old age, after he had worn himſelf out between his pleaſures and the love of his country. He was a man of courage, of a graceful perſon, endowed with excellent qualities of mind, and withal exceedingly polite: he appeared very magnificent

magnificent abroad, and lived in great ſplendor at home; and yet managed his own affairs with incredible œconomy: a virtue, without which it is impoſſible to preſerve the dignity of independence, and difficult to reſiſt the temptations of mean vices. It is certain that both we, and foreign nations alſo, might not only ſee in him qualities worthy of praiſe and admiration, but alſo what great men might well improve as an example for their own imitation, and that of their poſterity. But though this man was endowed with many virtues, yet none of them was more admirable than the manner of his ſuſtaining the near approaches of death. After he had, with the greateſt compoſure, ſettled his family, and, in the preſence of his ſon, the marquis of Hartington, given orders concerning his private affairs, he received the holy communion as he lay on his bed, from the hands of the Biſhop of Ely, and then departed.

When his body was brought to be depoſited among the monuments of his anceſtors, Dr. Kennet, in an elegant funeral-ſermon, performed the obſequies, and celebrated the praiſes of the deceaſed, according to cuſtom. When he had enlarged on the good qualities of his patron, and declared what repentance he had ſhewn on his death-bed, for all the ſins of his paſt life, a controverſy aroſe upon this among the prieſts, "whether a death-bed repentance was to be accepted by the clergy?" Many indeed were of opinion, that it matters not much whether repentance be ratified by the clergy or no, provided only that this and other acts of devotion be accepted of by Almighty God, who wills men always to be wiſe, and would rather have them repent late than never. Many alſo thought this moſt agreeable to the doctrine of Chriſt, urging the example of the happy thief upon the croſs. Yet, nevertheleſs, the whole tribe of the clergy fell bitterly upon Dr. Kennet on this occaſion, charging him with looſe behaviour, and contempt of diſcipline, and imprinting this as a common brand upon all the party. But if theſe men would confeſs the truth, they muſt acknowledge, either that they ſtirred up this controverſy out of envy, to make the worſt of a bad matter; or elſe, that they themſelves are addicted to ſuch religious rites, as refer the power of the ſalvation and

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damnation of all men to the clergy, and allow not any repentance, however ſerious and pious, to be legitimate and valid, unleſs it be declared and confeſſed to a prieſt, accompanied with chriſm, oil, and certain ceremonies, and the pronouncing a few old formal words. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that all things ought to be done decently, and in order: but what order, muſt be left to every country to determine for itſelf, unleſs it ſhall pleaſe God to command the contrary. And this is the moſt common ſentiment of Engliſhmen. But enough of controverſy.

THE earl of Pembroke, having been three years lord-lieutenant, or chief governor of Ireland, and by his moderation and great prudence compoſed the feuds and factions occaſioned by party-zeal, and ſettled all affairs there, left the government of that kingdom in the hands of lords juſtices, and returned to England to take his place as lord preſident of the queen's council.

AT this time a ſad accident happened to Mr. Harley: one of his clerks, named Gregg, who had ſpent his eſtate in extravagancies, and had not enough left to pay his debts, was ſuſpected to have entered into a correſpondence, contrarily to his oath of fidelity, and betrayed the ſecret counſels of ſtate to the enemy; which ſuſpicion was confirmed by ſome of his own letters. He was firſt charged with the crime, and ſecured by Mr. Harley. After this, he was examined by the queen's counſel; who committed him to cuſtody, and ordered his papers to be ſeized and ſearched. Upon this he was brought to his trial, on a charge of high treaſon: but he made no defence for himſelf, confeſſing his guilt, and caſting himſelf wholly upon the queen's mercy. He confeſſed he was drawn into it only by certain merchants, who were deſirous of obtaining ſome letters of ſafe conduct: but the judges having no regard to ſo weak a defence, condemned him of high treaſon, according to law. Being thus under ſentence of death as a traitor, he was returned to priſon, and loaded with irons: and ſuch a party-fury had poſſeſſed the people, that Mr. Harley himſelf did not eſcape cenſure.

THIS

THIS affair being reported to the houſe of peers, was ordered to be thoroughly examined by certain noble lords of approved fidelity, diligence, and abilities. The duke of Somerſet, and the lord Somers and Halifax, together with the earl of Sunderland, who was full of hatred againſt Mr. Harley, were entruſted with this buſineſs. Theſe men hoping, by promiſes of pardon, to prevail with Gregg to diſcover his accomplices, went often to the condemned perſon during the reſpite of his execution; for he was ſeveral times reprieved: but, though he was examined about many, he accuſed none. Nay, he conſtantly, and with great preſence of mind, to the laſt moment of his life, declared that his maſter was no way privy to his crime. And when Mr. Harley's own papers were alſo examined, there was no colour of ground to charge him with it: but neither the teſtimony of the dying man, nor the clearing up of the ſuſpicion, nor the remonſtrances of lord Somers, could free him from Sunderland's malice. At laſt Gregg was drawn upon a ſledge, and executed according to his ſentence.

AT this time the houſe of commons raiſed ſupplies of money to the amount of five million five hundred and forty thouſand two hundred and ſixty-ſeven pounds; partly by a land-tax of one-fifth part, that is, four ſhillings in every pound: the reſt of the money neceſſary for carrying on the war was made up of the cuſtoms, and other duties impoſed upon meat and drink, and other things. Many complaints had been formerly made of the reign of king William: but now, while the earl of Godolphin was treaſurer, every thing was taxed, whether public or private, foreign or domeſtic, and nothing was ſpared: ſo that there were louder outcries made by the tories, who now wiſhed king William alive again to ſee this management. New taxes were laid upon merchandize, and neceſſaries of all kinds, which were preſently transferred for thirty or for ninety-nine years; for by an ancient law the public revenues were not to be mortgaged or farmed out for any longer term; nor were the farmers or purchaſers of them for that reaſon allowed the privilege of voting in elections. The purchaſes, or contracts of private men, are called funds, which are daily ſold and transferred in the ſtreets and alleys of London from one to another, at a higher or

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lower price every day, according to the numbers of thoſe who come to buy and ſell. The accompts, containing an eſtimate of the expences of the war, and of the produce of the revenues, are wont to be laid before the parliament every year: but for as much as theſe are often calculated with more art than fidelity, the parliament appoints commiſſioners to examine them. Notwithſtanding this precaution, through the multitude of various articles, ſo many particulars are apt to eſcape the memory or obſervation, as may often afford an opportunity to thoſe who have the management of the money and exchange, to acquire vaſt fortunes; for, as theſe ſcrapings, theſe peelings, as it were, of feathers, afford a rich harveſt to the courtiers, the leaders of factions, who are for the moſt part court-penſioners, ſeldom look ſtrictly into ſuch things; and under the name of deficiencies or contingencies, the accompts being made up of what has been paid, and what received, there often remains nothing but debts charged upon the public; and the ordinary members, who are uſed to a country life, cannot find out the myſteries of thoſe affairs: wherefore the public money is greatly waſted, either by the collectors, or their receivers, or by their bankers and agents, or elſe is applied to other uſes than thoſe for which it was raiſed. Theſe abuſes took place without the knowledge of the treaſurer Godolphin, whom the time-ſerving courtiers highly praiſed, while others found fault with him, being grieved to ſee Great Britain every year tricked out of vaſt ſums for carrying on a war by land and ſea, ſometimes for the ſupport of the emperor, and ſometimes for king Charles. There were every year new acts of parliament made for the prevention of the frauds of many people, and redreſſing public grievances; but ſtill, by ſuch methods of redreſſing, the grievances increaſed: and I very much doubt whether the iniquity of mankind can be redreſſed by any laws, unleſs they receive an additional ſanction both from the example, and the conſtant exertions of thoſe who are entruſted with the adminiſtration of them. Complaint was alſo made in parliament, though without effect, that falſe numbers were given in of the ſoldiers in Spain; that in the accompts, the pay of one body of men was charged twice over, and that of others neglected.

THE

THE queen, in her ſpeech to the parliament, had recommended to them unity among themſelves, and alſo exhorted them to contend for nothing more than how far every good man might exceed others in an hearty endeavour to confirm and improve the preſent union of her kingdoms, as the beſt way to merit her favour, and the laſting love of poſterity. Mr. Bromley, who was a grave man, of great reputation for his exemplary behaviour and good life, as well as for his excellent parts and greatneſs of ſoul, and famous for a ſhort and clear manner of ſpeaking; and laſtly, one who had highly deſerved of the church of England; while the queen's ſpeech was yet freſh in their memory, propoſed to the houſe, in the firſt place, cordially to contribute all their good offices, ſo that the buſineſs of rendering the union complete might be diſpatched before any other. Moſt of the peers alſo were zealous for promoting the ſame object; into whoſe ſentiments even the duke of Argyle came of his own accord; but the duke of Queenſberry, who ſupported them at firſt, abandoned them afterwards with equal levity. The earl of Godolphin's friends oppoſed Mr. Bromley's motion, and ſo did moſt of the whigs; who, though they had, in the foregoing ſummer, concerted meaſures with the moſt eminent Scotſmen for abrogating the queen's privy-council in Scotland, yet now began to blame others, and excuſe themſelves. Upon this, A—— C——, who did all he could to bring the Scots into the whigs intereſt; and who, from his youth, had borne a juſt hate againſt the privy-council of Scotland, deſpiſing thoſe men, ſpake his mind fully and freely to ſome leading Engliſhmen of the whig-party, who had but lately engaged very heartily in the ſcheme of aboliſhing this court, but now ſeemed to doubt and heſitate; for nothing was more dear to him than fidelity to engagements and the public good; and therefore he, with great diſdain, refuſed all the offers which Godolphin made him, on condition that he would forbear proceeding in what he was about, or to diſcover his knowledge of this ſecret affair. "I appeal," ſaid he, "to thoſe wavering ſtateſmen, to your own "honour and conſcience, whether the Scots have taken any meaſures in "this matter without your knowledge or aſſent? It is certain ye were "conſulted concerning this meaſure, and it is as certain that ye approved "of it. Whence then comes this ſudden change? I doubt not, but

"it

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" it is owing to influence and authority more than to reaſon. I bluſh " for this and other ſtrange counſels, which have too much weight " with you, and which are indeed diſgraceful to human nature. Do " not therefore draw back: but what ye, noblemen, have concerted " with noblemen, adhere to it, and ſtand to it with firmneſs. If ye " chuſe rather to turn your backs, after ye have drawn many illuſtrious " men of the ſame ſentiments with yourſelves, into the higheſt expecta- " tion of your proceedings, it may be obſerved by poſterity how laſting " your reſolutions are; nay, from the effect of your promiſe in this bu- " ſineſs, all mankind will now plainly perceive your faithfulneſs and " conſtancy. Only this, I muſt tell you, that if Scotſmen be once de- " ceived, it may be inconvenient, as in the common caſe of all mor- " tals; but to attempt to do it a ſecond time would be fooliſh: and " ye yourſelves are to take heed with what probity ye deal with them."

None was more ſteady in this affair than the lord Sunderland and Somers, who perſiſted in their engagements. They, therefore, ſtood firmly for the abrogation of the council; and ſo did alſo the dukes of Argyle, Montroſe, and Roxburgh, the earl of Wharton, the lord Cowper, and many more of the Engliſh whigs, to ſay nothing here of the lord Halifax. To theſe alſo many of the tories joined themſelves, either to bring an odium and contempt upon the courtiers, or elſe, by their good ſervices, to draw the Scots into their party. But theſe men, it is plain, approved of the abrogation of the council in compliance with the times, and for the ſake of revenge, rather than in ſincerity, and according to their own ſentiments: for certainly it was not the intereſt of thoſe who maintain ſlaviſh principles.

Those who oppoſed the abrogation of the council, were the dukes of Marlborough and Queenſberry, and the earls of Rocheſter, Godolphin, and Seafield, and the far greater part of the Scotch miniſtry. To theſe adhered in the houſe of commons many members of great merit, and of the whiggiſh party. The Engliſh whigs, at this time, were divided into different parties; whence aroſe a great confuſion of intereſts in parliament, and the queſtion now before them began to be debated with great heat. As ſoon as Mr. Bromley had opened the matters

matter with equal gravity and elegance, Mr. George Baillie ſpake next in the debate againſt the council, and elegantly and briefly expoſed the immoderate power of the privy council in former times, the rigorous exerciſe of their authority, and what dreadful examples they had exhibited of all ſorts of cruelty. Next to him ſpake Mr. John Cockburne, for abrogating the council. In anſwer to them, aroſe Mr, John Pringle, and others, who, though they acknowledged the examples of cruelty diſplayed by the council in former times, and the immoderate power of that court, yet argued that it ought not for that reaſon to be abrogated, but to be limited and reſtrained within certain bounds. The courtiers, who were for protracting the time, made many and great delays, and propoſed expedients, but to no purpoſe; for Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Peter King, and Sir Joſeph Jekyl, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Wortley, Mr. Aiſlabie, and others of both parties, celebrated for their eloquence in parliament, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly, that now a privy council could be of no other uſe in Scotland, than that the court might thereby govern every thing at pleaſure, and by their own direction procure whomſoever they thought fit to be returned to ſerve in parliament; againſt which it was the common intereſt, both of the Scots and Engliſh, now united into one people, carefully to guard.

While the motion for abrogating the privy council had gone on fairly thus far, Sir David Dalrymple, juſt arrived in poſt haſte from Scotland, appeared ſuddenly in the parliament, and excuſing the cruelty and inſolence of the council, pleaded for a limitation, not the abrogation of it; and, by his diligence and eloquence, made full amends for his late arrival. It is certain, his elaborate ſpeech for confirming the privy council, dazzled the eyes of many of the Engliſh. For he inſiſted how neceſſary it was that a privy council ſhould be continued in Scotland, in regard to the ancient cuſtoms of the Scots and their laws; and even to reſtrain their ſpirit, which is naturally ardent, but now inflamed even beyond its uſual degree of heat, by the union of the kingdoms within the bounds of duty.

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He propoſed ſeveral methods and expedients; and at laſt pronounced, that dreadful times would enſue if once the privy council were abrogated; deſiring to hear from the gentlemen of the other ſide what remedies they could find out for thoſe evils. He ſaid, the juſtices and other conſervators of the public peace, who muſt be commiſſioned inſtead of the privy council, would either be a ſlender ſecurity to the public, or derogate very much from the authority of the judges and lieutenants of the ſeveral counties: that as none was heretofore obliged to forego his right according to law, ſo he thought none would be obliged now to forego their rights contrarily to the laws, on account of the union with England.

When ſome of the Engliſh, who were more intent upon their own private fortunes than the public good, heard this, they forſook the cauſe. Sir Joſeph Jekyl did not now think the council was to be abſolutely abrogated; whether it were, that he was only for putting off the abrogation till another time, or for caſting cold water upon it at once. The duke of Argyle alſo, for the ſake of an office of juriſdiction, and fear of loſing ſomewhat of his right, drew back from the concerted enterprize, and went over to the court-party. The courtiers, therefore, entertained thoughts of dropping the caſe of the council; and, under the pretence of cuſtoms and ſeaſons, whereby frauds are frequently put upon the public, would have rejected the bill. But the very means made uſe of for rejecting it, contributed to the abrogation of the council, through a difference which happened between the duke of Marlborough and Mr. Harley, and the Pretender's making an expedition to Scotland. Here I am at a loſs which to relate firſt and which laſt. But the importunity of the dutcheſs of Marlborough growing troubleſome to the queen, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter, had ſuch an effect, that Mr. Harley ſuddenly changed his ſentiments, and gave his judgment for the abrogation of the council. Harley, like a nimble, ſkilful charioteer, finding that he could no longer keep his ſtand at court, cheriſhed his horſes, looking round about him which way to turn with ſafety for fear of an overthrow in his removal, and then wheeling about, re-

turned to his old friends. Thus the loſs which they had ſuſtained by Argyle's defection was amply made up to them. And ſoon after, the bill for abrogating the privy council of Scotland paſſed the houſe of commons, and was carried up to the houſe of lords.

Privy council of Scotland abrogated.

When the bill was, according to cuſtom, brought up to the lords, it was faithfully ſupported by the duke of Montroſe, though himſelf the preſident of that ſame privy council, as well as the duke of Roxburgh, who was alſo a member of it. Theſe were certainly remarkable and illuſtrious examples of virtue. Noblemen, in the very bloom of their years, when their unexperienced age might have been pleaded in excuſe of a miſtake in judgment, and eſpecially when their own power over others was in queſtion, nevertheleſs, in memorable ſpeeches, diſcovered to the peers the whole myſtery of this council; declaring, that Scotland ought not to be given up in ſlavery, either to them or any other Scotſmen; and that, in order to have the government there adminiſtered after the Engliſh model, they were willing to reſign ſome of their own rights. Though the duke of Argyle well knew the unjuſtifiable proceedings of the privy council of Scotland, and how many times their hands had been ſtained with the blood of his anceſtors, yet, leſt the abrogation thereof ſhould prejudice his own offices and hereditary juriſdictions, he thought it not fit now to abrogate it, nor that any man ſhould give up his own rights for nothing: he ſhewed alſo, with great learning, that thoſe juriſdictions were ſecured both by old and new laws, and inveighed ſmartly againſt juſtices of the peace. The earl of Iſla, Argyle's brother, a man of fine parts and eloquence, agreed in opinion with the duke. And though he knew that all the miſchiefs of his country, and the misfortunes brought upon his own illuſtrious anceſtors in particular, ſprang from this one ſource of all evils; yet, in his ſpeech to the parliament, he imputed them wholly to the iniquity of the times, and to Sir George Mackenzie alone, whom he ſtyled a cruel beaſt, and a bloody cut-throat! "Let us not," ſaid he, "confound the abominations of that mercenary pleader, with "the ſplendid qualities of men high both in rank and virtue." In ſhort, the duke was againſt the abrogation of the council; but others inſiſted,

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that his ancestors were not torn in pieces by any one great beast, but butchered by this council, which was the head of tyranny in Scotland. Neither of the brothers were moved by a spirit of revenge, so much as by an eagerness to secure their private fortunes. But children have not always the ghosts of their ancestors before their eyes.

The lords Somers, Halifax, and Cowper, men not less eminent for their eloquence than for their nobility, now argued against that horrid council in Scotland; and on this, as on other occasions, they displayed their great experience in affairs, their natural talents, and all the beauties of eloquence, with which either Greece or Rome, the present or past ages, could adorn them. "As the kingdoms are now "united, said they, and the Scots are made free in England, as the "English are in Scotland, it will be pleasant for them both to draw in "one yoke together, if there be nothing deceitful, nothing disagree-"able remaining, but that all enjoy the same common benefits. "Will they not then declare their wishes for one common interest "and government? What is the meaning of all this contention, my "lords! for the privy council in Scotland? Unless ye desire to "see the wings of tyranny now grown, which the Scots had clipped "at the Revolution. But can ye wish to have such men in the "council, as neither our ancestors, nor we ourselves, since the king's "flight, desire to have in the kingdom?" The earl of Wharton, with his usual fluency, inveighed bitterly against the council of Scotland, and seemed to reflect with much sharpness upon the earl of Godolphin himself, who stood by that council: but the treasurer gave himself no trouble about what Wharton had said about him, knowing that he was secretly his assured friend. The earl of Sunderland, who was the queen's secretary, and Marlborough's son-in-law, spake very elegantly against the council, and agreed with the whigs in voting for its abrogation. The viscount Townshend, at first, disapproved of its overthrow, and seemed to oppose the bill; but when he heard the duke of Argyle's speech, relating only to his own interest, he returned to the lord Somers's opinion, and voted for the abolition of the council. The earl of Marr uttered, with great vehemence, all he had to say, in favour of the council. On the other side, the earl of Crawford said what he had

had a mind againſt it. The earl of Seafield, according to his uſual inconſtancy, perceiving how the cauſe of the council declined in the parliament, caſt his eyes down with a ſad aſpect upon the ground, as if he had been deviſing ſome miſchief, or change, and ſaid, "Thus ends "an old ſong.'

When all the votes were numbered, the bill paſſed by a great majority; and thus the council was annulled by act of Parliament. During all theſe debates, the duke of Marlborough appeared neutral; declaring in parliament, that it was indifferent to him which way the matter were determined; however, it is believed, that he underhand oppoſed the bill with all his intereſt.

The averſion which the queen had long conceived againſt the dutcheſs of Marlborough, began now to blaze out into a greater flame; and even the reconciliation which Mr. Harley was projecting, was by many looked upon with jealouſy. For the avarice, the wealth, and the ſordid temper of the Marlborough family, had long been the ſubject of converſation, being bandied about the town by goſſipping women, and from them greedily ſucked in by the tory party of the inferior clergy, by whom it was ſpread abroad in their ſeveral counties; and the unexperienced multitude, who, for the moſt part, look with envy upon the grandeur and good fortune of their ſuperiors, rejoiced at the dutcheſs of Marlborough's diſgrace, and began to carry themſelves with great inſolence, as if any one of themſelves were to have ſucceeded her in her place in the queen's favour. The dutcheſs of Marlborough, who had a very high ſpirit, and whoſe highly-exalted fortune, perhaps, had obſcured the brightneſs of her underſtanding, retired to her houſe at Windſor, where ſhe lived in quiet; nor did ſhe take any care to appeaſe the anger of the incenſed queen. Being only a woman, ſhe was not ſufficiently aware by how ſmall a matter the favour and good-will of princes may be loſt. Mr. Harley, embracing this occaſion, recovered his place in the queen's favour. He inſtructed Mrs. Maſham, who turned the dutcheſs of Marlborough's retirement, and all thoſe things which women are wont to have recourſe to as remedies for their evils, to her ruin.

About

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About this time many things were tranſacted at court in the dead of the night; and the queen was afflicted with ſore eyes. The prince of Denmark, who was a ſincere lover of his royal conſort, as well as of her country, was grieved at theſe late conferences, and ſaid in public, "It is no wonder the queen is troubled with ſore eyes, but rather "indeed that ſhe is not otherwiſe indiſpoſed, when ſhe goes no ſooner "to bed:" an expreſſion which is thought not to have eſcaped him unawares. As ſoon as the dutcheſs of Marlborough heard of this, ſhe ſet her ſpies about the queen, to watch and report to her every one who went in and out of the palace. And now at length finding the truth of what ſhe ſuſpected, and diſcovering certain proofs of Mr. Harley's counſels, ſhe, in the height of paſſion, began ſometimes to threaten, ſometimes to thunder. In the midſt of theſe troubles the duke of Marlborough, willing to keep himſelf neuter, wiſhed rather to repair to the camp, than to ſtay at home; and exhorted the earl of Godolphin to appeaſe theſe womaniſh ſquabbles. The queen was ſteady in her reſolution; and ſo was the dutcheſs of Marlborough, who day and night preſſed her huſband to revenge her injuries: but the duke, well knowing how many failings there are among women in our days, and that generally their object is rather to pleaſe themſelves than their huſbands, conſulted the prince of Denmark, as well as his own friends, leſt, from theſe evils, the public ſhould ſuffer detriment, or his own former ſucceſſes and glory ſhould be loſt. They were all of opinion, that the beſt way would be for the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin to go immediately to the queen, who was naturally timorous, and to perſuade her to remove Mr. Harley from his office and her court, in caſe ſhe thought fit to continue them in her ſervice. As ſoon as the queen was made ſenſible of this reſolution, and how ill ſhe had been treated, ſhe took a week's time to conſult about it: and therefore the council broke up, on the motion of the earl of Pembroke, who propoſed that all fair means poſſible might be uſed to compoſe theſe diſſentions, before they ſhould come to the ears of the people. In the mean time, many noblemen of great quality and power, joined in the ſame requeſt to the queen; and even Mr. Harley himſelf is ſaid to have alſo perſuaded her to follow the ſame courſe, in compliance with the times. And, laſt of all, the prince of Denmark

ſhewed

ſhewed the queen how neceſſary it was to comply with the duke of Marlborough's requeſt, and explained to her at large the danger of the confederate cauſe. Thus was a whole week ſpent in diſputes and excuſes. At laſt, the queen finding herſelf too weak to reſiſt, and being alarmed with fear of the Pretender, who at that time attempted an invaſion upon Scotland, complied with the opinion of her huſband and the duke of Marlborough, and yielded to the humour of the times.

FULL of reſentment, and not without tears, ſhe removed Mr. Harley from his office; and yet matters were not made eaſy at court. What diſturbances theſe female jars raiſed, not in England only, but throughout all Europe, the preſent age is aſhamed to recollect, and ſerious men pray to God that late poſterity may never feel.

How much more wiſely do the French provide for their own glory and ſafety? Who by law have declared women to be adapted only to ſpinning, and other domeſtic employments, but no way fit to treat of public affairs, or intermeddle with matters of government. This was the common ſentiment and ſaying of many honeſt men of both parties at that time: and as the humour of the times then was, it would have been eaſy to have introduced the ſalique law into England, if the act of ſucceſſion, whereby the kingdom was ſettled upon the princeſs Sophia by name, had not prevented it among the whigs: and with the tories, who are indeed no wiſer than women, it would have been a ſcruple of conſcience to introduce that law, ſince the wealth, the revenues, the ſacred ornaments and dominion of the governing church in England, as well as almoſt every where elſe, are chiefly owing to the favour of women.

THE queen thought it worth her while at that time, either in hopes, by her preſence, to curb the paſſions of ſome of the peers, or elſe to divert her troubled mind, to come frequently to the houſe of lords. As her majeſty was pretty ſubtle, as moſt women are in matters of revenge; the hatred which the Dutcheſs of Marlborough had conceived againſt many noblemen, and the injuries of their enemies ſhe ſecretly diſco-

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diſcovered to themſelves, and complained at the ſame time that ſhe herſelf had been impoſed on and miſled by them: and above all, ſhe took care to make ſuch diſcoveries to thoſe who now favoured the dutcheſs of Marlborough. Having now, therefore, a diſtruſt of that dutcheſs, being deſirous to diſengage herſelf from her fetters, as well as to clear the peers from the calumnies of the dutcheſs, and in order to be a witneſs of their fidelity hereafter, ſhe reſolved to be preſent at their meeting in parliament. This affected greatneſs of ſoul in the queen, and her ſubtlety, impoſed upon many. To theſe alſo ſhe added ſome hopes of reward, which they might expect from her bounty, if they could defend themſelves againſt the Marlburghian faction, and would adhere to her friends in the parliament. By theſe means ſome were ſpirited up with hopes of preferment, others by old grudges, inconſtancy, and the queen's importunity to oppoſe the Marlborough party.

THE earl of Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax, who had been long friends, and were of high conſideration for their eloquence, as well as experience in buſineſs, adviſed, either that a reconciliation ſhould be effected between the queen and the dutcheſs of Marlborough, with each of whom they uſed their influence and good offices for this purpoſe, or that the government ſhould be ſtrengthened by new laws, leſt all things ſhould come to confuſion, by means of the inferior clergy, and the dregs of the people, who being now ſurfeited with victories, began to carry themſelves with great inſolence; and leſt, in time, great diſturbances ſhould ariſe even among the nobility alſo. But this advice did not pleaſe either the queen, or the duke of Marlborough, whoſe whole fortune had hitherto ſprung from the favour of kings, and the troubles of the times. It was alſo the duke's intention to raiſe the military affairs in Britain to a more flouriſhing ſituation; which was much oppoſed by the moderate men. The earl of Sunderland, who was not always ſelf-conſiſtent, ſeemed to agree with them in opinion: but the lords Cowper and Townſhend, who were famous for their probity and love of their country, and always choſe to pay obedience to the laws, rather than to the will and pleaſure of kings, maintained with the lord Somers the expediency of ſtrengthening the government with laws. To relate all the different opinions

opinions in thoſe times, the women's trifles, and their dreams about the fortune and future events of all things and perſons, would be tedious.

THE queen's averſion to the dutcheſs was inflamed by all the tories except a very few, who were ſecretly attached to the duke of Marlborough; whoſe fortunes he was always as forward to raiſe, as thoſe of others, on all occaſions, though they were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the ſettlement of the government made by king William. Many alſo who were called whigs, and lately, rather out of gratitude for the earl of Godolphin's favours, than a ſenſe of duty, had conformed to his ſentiments, now forſook him in his difficulties: and others again, either through their own ignorance and inexperience, or their natural inconſtancy, or elſe being impoſed upon by idle rumours, were guilty of great offences againſt the government. The ſuſpicion of the duke of Marlborough's protracting the war had raiſed ſuch an odium againſt him at that time among the people, that many foreſaw it would end in his ruin.

DURING all theſe tranſactions at court and in parliament, certain perſons, as I have already mentioned, were ſent over from France to raiſe diſturbances in Scotland. Theſe men, under pretence of the union of the kingdoms, which they called the ſurrender of Scotland, were to ſtir up the Scots to ſedition, whoſe minds were already irritated, and to blow up the flames of diſcord between them and the Engliſh. Among theſe, one was known by the name of Hooke. This man boaſted that the French king had entruſted him with his ſecret inſtructions; making, I know not what promiſes, to thoſe who ſhould riſe. Beſides the grievances of the Scots, they were the more tempted to revolt, by a vaſt ſum of money, which was laid up in Edinburgh at that time, partly for payment of the equivalent, and partly to be new coined. This was firſt of all propoſed to the Highlanders, naturally addicted to rapine and plunder, as a prize or bait for their fidelity to the Pretender, not only by the French faction, but even by ſome alſo who had been promoters of the union, and who promiſed

Diſturbances projected in Scotland.

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the queen to ſtrengthen and confirm what they had ſo glorioufly brought about, to the laſt moment of their lives: but, among thoſe men, oaths and promiſes were of equal weight.

Hooke, on his arrival in Scotland from France, judged it conducive to his purpoſe to have as numerous a meeting as poſſible of the Scotch noblemen and gentlemen. Certain days were appointed for hunting in the Highlands, and meaſures were concerted among the chiefs of thoſe who were to make an inſurrection. The Highlanders, who had been long ago conquered by king William, and reduced, through idleneſs, to extreme want of all things, according to their ancient cuſtom, forgot their loſſes and ſworn obedience; and recovering freſh ſpirits, as it were, to renew an inteſtine war, iſſued from the mountains into the Lowlands, drove away the cattle by night, and plundered the open country: and thus all Scotland began to be filled with arms, according to the prevailing humour of the times, and the diverſity of ſentiments, either to defend or to diſturb the government.

The queen's miniſters had ſome obſcure intelligence of theſe things, as Mr. Harley clearly ſhewed in one of his ſpeeches in parliament; yet they thought fit to conceal it, till theſe tumults ſhould either ſettle and be compoſed of themſelves, or elſe break out like an increaſing ſtorm, whereby the queen might be forced to come into their meaſures.

Palatines brought over.

About this time a ſwarm of people called Palatines began, on account of religion and poverty, to come over into Britain. The cauſe of their coming was, that in time of peace they were perſecuted by their own princes at home, and in time of war over-run by the depredations of their enemies, and diſabled to cultivate their lands. Leaving therefore their own country, they tried to relieve their troubled minds by travel; chuſing rather, as they gave out, after the example of the Patriarchs, to endure ſervitude in a foreign country, than always ſtarve at home, and ſuffer the outrages both of the foreign enemy and of their own prince.

Much

MUCH about the ſame time an act of parliament had paſſed for naturalizing foreign proteſtants. This law was affirmed to have been the cauſe of the Palatines coming into England, by many who were vexed to ſee our privileges thus proſtituted; and the duke of Marlborough's enemies ſaid, he was the author of both, though without any reaſon or proof. In order to relieve their neceſſities, the queen granted them eighty thouſand pounds out of the treaſury: and many private perſons alſo contributed to their relief, in proportion to their charity and compaſſion to the diſtreſſed. Some of them were ſent into the colonies abroad, others ſet to divers ſorts of work in the neighbouring country, according to their ſeveral capacities and abilities. To all theſe evils may be added, the loſs we had ſuſtained, the burthens we laboured under, and the ruin of our trade; and, laſtly, to the difficulties of our ſecular affairs was added a great concern about the danger of the church.

ABOUT this time the earl of Mancheſter, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Venice, earneſtly urged to the ſenate, that if they had a mind to do a favour to the queen, and a ſervice to themſelves, they ſhould, at a time when all Italy was involved in the flames of war, unite their forces with thoſe of the confederates; and he ſhewed that this might be done without any danger, nay, even with great advantage to their republic. The ſenators excuſed themſelves in long ſpeeches, particularly becauſe their republic had been haraſſed with wars for twenty years together. Beſides, there was a rumour ſpread about the city, that the Turks were preparing for war, and that five of their gallies had paſſed the Negropont, and that they were working day and night in their docks, with great diligence, in the conſtruction of others. The ſenators thought it incumbent upon them to provide for their own ſafety in the firſt place, and ſent ſome pinnaces and fly-boats to Modon, Zant, Cephalonia, Zara, and Liſſa, for intelligence; and ordered Napoli to be ſupplied with proviſions, and other towns to be fortified, without raiſing any forces to defend them. Many indeed were willing to have this omitted, chiefly for this reaſon, leſt the enemy, by ſuch military precautions, ſhould be the more incited to commence hoſtilities. The magiſtrates of the Morea returned for anſwer, "That the enemy

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"were not raiſing any diſturbances in thoſe parts, and that there "was no neceſſity for fortifying more towns, ſince there was no "money provided for that purpoſe." Many alſo accuſed Soperanzo, the procurator of St. Mark's, that when he was their ambaſſador to the grand ſignior, he had returned, to the treaſury of the republic, the public money which ought to have been given to the friends and ſervants of the governor of Thrace; adding to this charge the old fabulous ſtories about Epidaurus, to gain the more credit with the earl of Mancheſter, that the Turks were preparing to attack them: but the Venetian ſenators treated him with the moſt obliging words, in the midſt of all their excuſes.

As the Dutch, after the loſs of the battle of Almanza, and the truce made by the emperor in Italy, grew averſe to a continuation of the war in Spain, ſo alſo did many in England, both tories and whigs; "for," ſaid they, "how can we poſſibly tranſport ſuch an army to Spain as "is neceſſary to retrieve our affairs there, by ſo long a voyage, on "dangerous coaſts, and at ſo uncertain a ſeaſon of the year? All the "Spaniards are either reconciled to the French yoke, or ſubdued, and "have united themſelves with the French troops: beſides, even our "own allies are averſe to this war, &c."

Those who were deſirous of carrying on the war, ſaid, that "we could "not with honour deſiſt from our undertaking; neither ought king "Charles's misfortunes to be deſpiſed, &c." And general Stanhope, the more to encourage the Engliſh to carry on the war, and to exert themſelves againſt Spain, wrote letters to the queen, that he had concluded an advantageous treaty with king Charles for our commerce to the Indies. But the Dutch, well knowing that this could be of no uſe till that king were in poſſeſſion of his kingdom and the Indies, were not much concerned at this news: however, the Dutch being no ſtrangers to Stanhope's diſpoſition, or his fidelity, and knowing how raſhly he was apt to take his meaſures, abſolutely refuſed to contribute any more of their money towards the war in Spain. Many debates aroſe in the Britiſh parliament about either putting an end to the war, or leſſening our expences.

The

THE duke of Marlborough's friends, and particularly Mr. Addiſon, who in mercenary writings inſiſted, that as the German forces were not to be depended on, our armies ought to be reinforced, ſaid, "there "was nothing but money wanting to put a ſpeedy end to the war:" which, therefore, was forthwith raiſed, to an amount ſufficient not only to carry on the war abroad, but alſo to repel the Pretender, and to provide againſt all dangers to the government, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

THE Dutch refuſed to engage themſelves in a new league with the emperor: and the Engliſh alſo plainly perceived by what had already paſſed in the war, how little confidence was to be placed either in his imperial majeſty or the duke of Savoy.

ABOUT this time the duke of Argyle, captain of the horſe guards in Scotland, procured orders for bringing them up to London, to attend in their turn at court. But when Argyle, whether for the ſake of his private profit, or keeping up the cuſtom of his country, had ordered the cloathing of theſe guards to be trimmed with ſilver lace, whereas thoſe of the Engliſh are trimmed with gold, the queen ſaid, "ſhe could not now any longer know her own guards;" and from her reproving that fault, and reſenting the boundleſs avarice of the commanders, ſhe was obſerved to grow daily more and more averſe to war.

THE French king perceiving that the confederates were about to turn the whole force of their arms againſt him, uſed all his endeavours to procure a peace: but being diſappointed of his hopes, though ſomewhat ſtrengthened and encouraged by the loſſes which the confederates had ſuſtained, he endeavoured again to try the chance of war. Having therefore ſent a large reinforcement of horſe, and other recruits, to his army in Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, though unwilling to accept, was appointed to the command of it: and the king reſolved to ſend the Pretender to the crown of England to attempt a change in Scotland: for the ſons of kings being looked upon as generals before they are ſoldiers, and men before they are out of their childhood, the ſcheme which the French king had formed for carrying

on

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on the war this year, was approved and applauded by every body, except the duke of Vendoſme. But the duke of Burgundy's followers, and others, who perceived that the military art was almoſt loſt in France, thought it beſt to ſue to the king for peace, before the people, worn out by famine, the burden of the war, and ſo many ſlaughters, ſhould be provoked to an open mutiny. To this the ſoldiers and their patrons made anſwer, "that nothing ought to be "preferred by any one, to the king's glory; that nothing was more ex- "cellent and precious than the dignity of the Gallic empire; and "that every man ought to undergo dangers and toils; nay, and even "to ſuffer death itſelf, rather than that his majeſty's honour ſhould "be ſtained; and that fortune, ſince all things are liable to change, "might vary. From what we have already ſuffered, ſaid they, we may "hope that our affairs will ſoon take a turn for the better; that "France will never want means to carry on the war, &c." To all this the clergy added, "That Almighty God would never forſake a "king who had always been religiouſly devoted to his ſervice, unleſs "the people, by their wickedneſs, ſhould turn God's face away from "them."

After the French king had thus concerted meaſures for the next year's campaign, the Pretender, with all the ſuccours he could procure, prepared for his expedition. But whatever ſucceſs the French king promiſed him under his preſent unhappy fortune, by raiſing an inteſtine war in the bowels of Great Britain, it all depended not only upon the caſualties of war, but alſo even upon the uncertain ſtate of the ſeas and winds.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK XI.

Invaſion of Scotland.——Diſputes between the Biſhops and inferior Clergy.——Supplies for the Year 1708.——*The Campaign in* 1708.——*Ghent ſurprized by the French.——Battle of Oudenarde.——Liſle beſieged.——Battle of Wrendale.——Liſle ſurrendered.——The magnanimity of an Engliſh Common Soldier.——Veldt Marſhal D'Auverquerque's Death.——Bavaria's Attempt upon Bruſſels.——The Citadel of Liſle taken.——Ghent beſieged,——and taken.——War with the Pope.——Conſtitution Unigenitus.——Hanoverian Campaign on the Rhine.——Reduction of Minorca.——Prince George of Denmark's Death.——Changes in the Miniſtry.——Palatines brought over.——Negociation in Holland for a Peace.*

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THE meſſengers, which had been ſecretly diſpatched laſt year into Scotland from France, and the frequent reſort of the Scots thither, occaſioned very general ſuſpicions concerning the French king's deſigns. Theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed by letters and certain intelligence; all which the Engliſh miniſtry, as well as the French king, ſtudiouſly endeavoured to conceal. The king, who laboured under many internal difficulties, hoped that this expedition would be of great ſervice to him, as he might thereby be able to divert the Britiſh forces from proſecuting the war the following ſummer in Flanders, and create ſufficient work for them by a rebellion at home.

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THE rumour of this had ſpread through Britain; and yet no places were fortified, nor any one ſtep taken to avert the danger. This gave ground for many people to think that the queen would peaceably reſign herſelf and the fortune of her kingdoms to the Pretender; and that every thing was adjuſted between her and her brother, ſo that he ſhould return to the kingdom; which ſhe was far from thinking of at that time. The true cauſe of this neglect and delay was the diſſention among the Engliſh miniſters, and the quarrels among private perſons. As both the queen and the people, after the victory at Ramillies, and the loſs at Almanza, had begun to grow weary of the war, and to be incredibly deſirous of peace, ſo every one ſtrove who ſhould gain the greateſt ſhare of her majeſty's favour. The duke of Marlborough's friends, who had great intereſt both in the parliament and at court, were deſirous of carrying on the war. Theſe men, in order to force the queen into their meaſures, are ſaid rather to have wiſhed the Pretender a fair paſſage into Scotland, than that they ſhould loſe the fruitful harveſt of the war: and they publicly boaſted, that neither would the Pretender dare to ſet his foot in Scotland, nor any of thoſe who ſhould venture to land ever return back to France. The ſoldiers of fortune, who enter into the ſervice for pay, rather than for the ſake of their country, inſiſted, that all things would be ſafe in Scotland, even without any army; but no man was found hardy enough to undertake for this. The Londoners, therefore, and others who had lent their money to the public ſervice, complained heavily of the negligence and remiſſneſs of the miniſters, and how different their whole conduct was now from that of the adminiſtration of king William's time.

THE approach of ſpring 1708, which was ſomewhat unſeaſonable, diſcovered the French king's deſign, and the reaſon of the great naval preparations at Dunkirk. And the Pretender, having ſent his ſervants before him to that coaſt, came himſelf in all haſte to Dunkirk, intending to paſs over alone to the Frith of Forth. But when all things were in readineſs for his going immediately on board, he was taken ill of the meaſles; which gave the Britons an opportunity to fit out their fleet. In the mean time, the Pretender wrote to the

French king for his directions what to do in this unhappy caſe. The French king, who was no otherwiſe concerned about the Pretender's life or affairs, than to ſerve his own turn, anſwered, "That he muſt "not deſiſt from the attempt, nor delay his embarkation;" and ordered ſome men thither to ſee him on ſhip-board, though he was hardly yet recovered of his diſtemper. But while thoſe men were bringing theſe orders, the wind providentially turned againſt them, and blew ſo hard from the north, that the ſailors declared they could not poſſibly put out to ſea. Within a few days the wind changed; and the Pretender deſired but a very ſhort time for the recovery of his health; but even this could not be obtained of the king; and his officers could not take upon them to diſpenſe with the orders of their maſter. Every thing was therefore ordered according to the king's direction, and the neceſſity of the times.

Invaſion of Scotland.

MONSIEUR FOURBIN, the admiral, finding the wind and tide both fair, put forth his lights, and ſailed out of port; and having paſſed the ſhallows before day, and eſcaped the ſand-banks, the ſhips which were a-head waited for thoſe which were to follow. In the mean time, the lords of the admiralty of England iſſued their warrants to impreſs men out of the ſhips of all nations, and the ſea-port towns, as is uſual in times of danger. Sir George Byng was appointed by the queen to command her fleet; and the ſhips were fitted out with the utmoſt diligence, and provided with all naval and military ſtores and ſails: but after they had been detained many days in the port by croſs winds, Byng ſent out ſome light ſhips and fly-boats to look into Dunkirk, and the other ports of France on the oppoſite ſhore to England, and to bring him intelligence of what was doing on the French coaſt, and which way the French fleet was bound. He was ſoon informed that the French fleet had ſailed; and, lying by, and keeping cloſe to the ſhore, he perceived the rear of the enemy's ſquadron ſteering towards the north, and purſued them as cloſe as the wind would permit, though at a great diſtance.

MONSIEUR FOURBIN, as ſoon as he was out at ſea, opened his inſtructions, and gave orders to the ſeveral captains to make the beſt

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of their way to the Frith of Forth. But the tempeſt increaſing every day, the French fleet was forced to launch farther out into the ocean; and being driven northwards, not only paſſed the Frith of Forth, but alſo Aberdeen; and the ſhips being diſperſed, were driven to Dunſtaffnage, and the remoteſt parts of the coaſt of Scotland. There they ſent boats on ſhore for freſh water and intelligence, and were by the inhabitants informed of their error; whereupon Monſ. Fourbin, returning by the coaſt, arrived in two days at the mouth of the Forth, and anchored that night near the iſle of May. The Scots were now in great fear for the caſtle of Edinburgh, and the money lodged there.

In the mean time, the citizens of London were all in the utmoſt conſternation. For the farmers of the revenue, or ſtock-holders, and thoſe who had advanced money on the public credit, were now in a hurry to ſell out their ſtock, and all they had made of it; whereby there happened great deficiencies in thoſe funds, and the public credit was much impaired. Some ran to their goldſmiths, others to the bank, which the Londoners look upon as their ſafeſt treaſury: and ſo numerous and preſſing were their calls, that the directors could not have had enough to anſwer them, if the lord-treaſurer had not helped them out, when the bank was almoſt at the point of ſtopping payment. Some holidays alſo came on very ſeaſonably for them, on which it is not uſual for the bank to make any payments.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, while the queen herſelf could ſcarcely take any reſt, a meſſenger arrived with the joyful news of Sir George Byng's coming into the mouth of the Forth, which gave freſh confidence to the citizens; and the public diſcords were appeaſed by a reconciliation between the queen and the dutcheſs of Marlborough. When complaint was made in parliament of ſome people's importunity for payment, through party-zeal, Sir Francis Child refuted the charge, and ſhewed upon what weak grounds the lord Coningſby had unjuſtly built his accuſation. Sir Gilbert Heathcote inſiſted, that the public credit was not to be impaired by any attempt, nor even by an act of parliament. "For who," ſaid he, "will lend his money to the "treaſury, or intruſt it in any other hand, if, when he calls for it "again,

" again, he ſhall be branded as a man who has no love for his country, " or regard for the public ſafety." This opinion prevailed in the parliament, that the public credit was, like a virgin, not to be violated, but to be looked upon as ſacred. Upon the promiſe of great intereſt, money enough was brought into the treaſury, and the payments made at once: whereby it appears, that in Britain the public good, and the intereſt of the community, depends more upon the confidence and good-will of the people, than either upon the royal authority or acts of parliament.

DURING this time, all Scotland was full of the greateſt joy or grief, according to the different proſpects that were preſented to the inhabitants by the Pretender's diſappointment. Mean while, the earl of Leven, who had the command of the forces in Scotland, though not furniſhed with any military proviſions, drew out the few troops he had towards the coaſt; ſending frequent expreſſes to ſignify what he ſtood in need of, and requeſting of the miniſtry to know her majeſty's commands. The caſtle of Edinburgh, at that time utterly unprovided of every thing, was intruſted to the command of one noways averſe to the Pretender; nor was that of Stirling in any other ſituation, nor the lieutenants of the ſeveral counties free from ſuſpicion. The friends, therefore, of the late king, and thoſe of the preſent government, began to think of ſhifting for themſelves. The diſaffected flocked with their arms towards the coaſt, where it was ſaid their friends intended to land, and wantonly diſtributed the goods, the eſtates, and the church-preferments of others, among their own pot-companions.

THE ſame night that Monſ. Fourbin arrived at the Iſle of May, Sir George Byng, by chance, lay at anchor over againſt him with the Engliſh fleet. For, as ſoon as the differences at court were made up by the diſmiſſion of Mr. Harley, ſome regiments of foot and horſe were ordered to Scotland, with all things neceſſary for the war. Though the two fleets were come ſo near each other, neither of the admirals had the leaſt knowledge of the other's arrival in the Frith. But Byng, alarmed at the ſignal of the watch, and the firing of a gun, ſent out a fourth-rate ſhip for intelligence, commanded by captain James Ha-

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milton, who, coming up with the enemy by night, returned immediately to give the admiral intelligence where the enemy lay. On receiving this, Sir George Byng gave orders to his men to make ready to attack the enemy by break of day. That night all hands were at work to clear the ſhips, and get the guns in order. The hopes of a prize filled Byng himſelf, and all his ſquadron with great alacrity and freſh courage. For in war, as well as in civil affairs, not to ſay parliamentary too, every thing is apt to be influenced by rewards.

THE ſame night great diſſentions aroſe in the French fleet between the admiral Fourbin and Monſ. de Gace, general of the forces on board, about the greatneſs of their danger. The one declared for ſetting the Pretender a-ſhore at all hazards to himſelf as well as the fleet; but the other would needs carry him back to France. In the heat of this diſpute, leſt Byng ſhould early in the morning attack them as they lay at anchor, orders were given to weigh, and ſet ſail before break of day. What inſtructions the French had, what differences in opinion there were among them, or how the Pretender himſelf was inclined, as to his going on ſhore, does not appear; neither am I diſpoſed to flatter or detract from any perſon.

THOUGH the ſeas were very tempeſtuous, Fourbin ſailed before the ſun-riſing along the dangerous coaſts of Fife and Angus. And no ſooner did Sir George Byng diſcover this, than he weighed anchor and purſued the enemy. But the ſtorm ſtill continuing, the ſurges of the ſea ran ſo high, that the Engliſh durſt neither paſs them, nor diſcharge their guns at the enemy. The French veſſels being much lighter than ours, and more lately careened, out-ſailed them far, and left them farther and farther a-ſtern every hour. When Sir George Byng perceived this, he ſent out captain Gordon, and ſome others of the lighter ſhips, which could ſail as faſt as the enemy, to fall upon them in their retreat, while he himſelf, ceaſing the purſuit, and ſuſpecting ſome ſtatagem of the enemy, bent his ſails back again to the Frith of Forth, and blocked up the mouth of that river.

IN the mean time, the parliament of England attainted the Pretender, and ſet a price of a hundred thouſand pounds upon his head,

to

to any perſon who ſhould apprehend him in theſe nations, and bring him, alive or dead, before the next magiſtrate.

CAPTAIN GORDON took one of the enemy's ſhips, on board of which were the lord Griffin, formerly attainted, two ſons of the earl of Middleton, and many Frenchmen. And all the priſoners were brought up to London, and ſoon after ſent back to France, except the lord Griffin, whoſe crime was pardoned in regard to his old age; for his head, as the duke of Marlborough ſaid, was not worth laying down to the axe of the executioner.

THE French fleet, being diſperſed by the tempeſt, and the fear of our ſhips, were ſome of them driven by the force of the winds round the Orkney Iſles, and returned that way to Breſt, while others made the beſt of their way to Dunkirk with the Pretender.

THE French king, that he might not be thought the author of the miſcarriage of this expedition, and to avoid any reflection upon himſelf on that account, caſt the blame of I know not what upon Fourbin, and promoted Monſ. de Gace to the honour of a marſhal; as if there had paſſed in this pompous expedition any thing deſerving reproof in the one, or reward in the other.

THE Pretender procured the French king's conſent to his making the campaign in Flanders; and in order to ſpare himſelf the expence of field equipage, the king gave him the title of Chevalier de St. George. In remembrance of this expedition, a medal was ſtruck in England, with theſe words:

CLASSE GALL. FUGATA,
AD FRETUM EDINBUR. XVI DIE MARTII MDCCVIII.

THE Pretender's affairs in Scotland being now deſperate, the miniſters, in order to clear themſelves of all ſuſpicion, thought fit to examine into the diſaffection of certain perſons in that kingdom, and to enquire who were favourers of the Pretender there. Among theſe,

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all were ſuſpected to be who had oppoſed the union: but theſe were a multitude almoſt without number, noways attached to the Pretender's intereſt, though they were very eager for innovations in government: and now all Scotland was full of informers.

Mr. Fletcher came up to London. The duke of Hamilton retired into Derbyſhire, to look after his own private affairs. The ear of Marr gave in to the earl of Sunderland the names of thoſe whom he looked upon as moſt guilty of the conſpiracy: nor could any of the diſaffected eſcape Marr's notice, though he himſelf had been a long time reckoned the head of all the diſaffected party. Meſſengers were ſent about every where, to ſummon many noble perſons to appear and anſwer for themſelves. The duke of Athol excuſed himſelf by his want of health. The duke of Hamilton came to London without the leaſt reluctance: the reſt, fearing to incur the penalties denounced by law, came to Edinburgh at the time appointed: from thence being brought up to London, ſome were thrown into priſon, and others were indulged in ſome more liberty. The duke of Hamilton's fidelity being vouched for to the queen by three noblemen, who gave their ſecurity for him, he was ſet at liberty: and now, firſt of all, taking part with the whigs, he did them great and faithful ſervice in the election of members to be returned from Scotland to the enſuing parliament, which was highly reſented by the duke of Queenſberry.

When all things had long been tranſacted in Britain, more by party zeal, and the humour of the times, than by any due ſenſe of right, or firm principles of government and civil prudence, the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin began now to court both parties. It was therefore a matter of indifference to them what party either Hamilton or Queenſberry took, ſo long as their own intereſt and their military ſchemes met with no check in the parliament. Mr. Harley, in the houſe of commons, before Chriſtmas, ſet forth clearly, but briefly, how cloſe and ſelf-intereſted the duke of Marlborough's friends were in the methods of their adminiſtration. "Ye are much miſtaken," ſaid he "if ye think they are moved either with hatred or affection to the "Pretender, or any other mortal whatſoever, but by a regard to themſelves

"ſelves only:" and he declared very plainly how intent the family of Marlborough was in the purſuit of their own intereſt. The next queſtion now was, how the adherents of the Pretender ſhould be proceeded againſt: and on this ſubject there were various opinions in the council. The duke of Marlborough inclined to mercy; and is ſaid to have adviſed, "That the queen would be pleaſed not to conſider "the guilt of the offenders more than her majeſty's own royal dignity; "nor to proceed againſt them with more ſeverity than was neceſſary "for the public ſafety." This opinion pleaſed all men of both parties, except the mob, who were enraged that they muſt contribute of their ſubſtance towards the repelling of dangers, and yet none of the guilty be puniſhed, though taken in the very crime. And the duke of Marlborough's enemies ſaid, "that his opinion in this caſe "was exactly the ſame with that of Cæſar, heretofore in the caſe of "Catiline's conſpiracy." The Scots, who were moſt ſuſpected of concerting the invaſion, being brought to London, ſome of them were committed to priſon; others were more honourably treated as priſoners at large, and continued there a long time confined to their houſes. The lord Belhaven, who, as I have ſhewn already, had been above all his countrymen zealous againſt the union, whether through the violence of reſentment at the inſolence of ſome men who had been raiſed from nothing to high ſtations in London, or ſeized with ſome violent diſeaſe, died ſuddenly after dinner on the very day of his diſcharge.

The laird of Touch, a deſcendant of the noble family of Seton, and his kinſmen, the lairds of Keir and Carden, as being joined with him in the ſame crime, were impriſoned together at London. Theſe alſo being ready to give ſecurity to ſtand their trial, were ſent down to Scotland under a guard: and there they were brought to their trial on a charge of high treaſon. Sir James Stuart, a man of excellent parts, who had the experience both of good and bad fortune, and was an eminent lawyer, being at that time the queen's lord-advocate, commenced a proceſs againſt them in her majeſty's name, and proſecuted them for high treaſon. But Sir James, who, in his younger days had ſuffered much himſelf on account of high treaſon, now growing old,

became

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became leſs fond of blood than of money; and had drawn up th charge in ſuch a manner, that the priſoners could not be convicted for, before they entered upon the merits of the cauſe, a hot diſput aroſe between the judges and the jurors about the qualifications of th jury, and the methods of proceeding: and after the whole day wa ſpent in debates, and neither would yield to the other, ſome adviſe that the proceſs ſhould be begun a-new. But ſince the Scotch law were ſo favourable to priſoners, that this could not be done, nor th trial put off, they were diſcharged without puniſhment, and all th charge againſt them quaſhed. Though this cuſtom in Scotland wa founded in good reaſon, that men ſhould not undergo two trials fo one crime, nor ſuffer death for the ſake of a formality of judgment the Engliſh miniſters made great complaints of the acquittal of thef men, as if traitors, rebels, and the worſt of criminals might eſcap with impunity in Scotland: but, ſurely, no man ever took it in hi head, till this time, to cenſure the Scots for too much lenity in the pu niſhment of rebels, or other criminals.

THE laws of Scotland relating to high treaſon were all of them to b now unanimouſly repealed in the Britiſh parliament: and the blame o the invaſion was to be laid upon that whole nation, to turn the odium o it from the miniſtry, and to prevent the multitude in England fron taking notice of the queen's clemency towards perſons charged with ſ heinous a crime. The Scotch judges excuſed themſelves from intro ducing new cuſtoms into the kingdom, or ordering double proceſſe againſt rebels, leſt, poſſibly, their proceedings againſt others at thi time, might be turned againſt themſelves another day: for as evi practices give occaſion to the eſtabliſhment of good laws, ſo all evi examples take their riſe from good originals: but when the adminiſ tration is committed to bad or weak men, then thoſe new precedents ar transferred from the conduct of men of principle, and become deſtruc tive engines in the hands of the profligate and abandoned; ſo that at length, the good and bad come to be treated both alike; an the authors of ſuch precedents are themſelves ſometimes forced t ſuffer the ſame puniſhments which they had inflicted upon others. Bu this defence was of no uſe to the Scots.

DR

Dispute between the bishops and inferior clergy.

Dr. Atterbury, lately promoted to the deanery of Carliſle, and aſpiring now to the honour and power of a lord biſhop, began to ſtudy innovations, under pretence of primitive antiquity, denying that he was ſubject to his biſhop's viſitation, and reſiſting his authority; as Mr. Hickeringill had alſo done many years before, againſt the biſhop of London. This point being brought before the judges, who were not able to decide it, the parliament thought fit this year to make a new law, to ſubject the deans and parochial clergy to their dioceſans, that the church might not ſuffer any damage. In paſſing this bill, warm debates aroſe in the parliament, which were carried on with great heat of party. The whigs aſſerted the right of the biſhop; the tories maintained the privileges of the dean: and theſe men were at that time reſolved to have clipped the biſhop's wings, if the Scotch members had not now ſtood up for the rights of the dioceſans of England: for it was by their votes that this bill paſſed the houſe of peers, and was brought down to the houſe of commons. Here it was debated afreſh: but this bill from the lords had been dropt by the commons, if A. C. had not beſtirred himſelf in the affair, though he was equally affected to the biſhops of England, and the preſbyterians of Scotland: for having heard Dr. Gregory, who was a bitter enemy to the whigs, making intereſt with the Scots in favour of Dr. Atterbury, and urging to them, by way of argument, that Atterbury was a famous preacher, and chaplain to the queen, he briefly made anſwer, "That he had heard long ago that Atterbury was chaplain of Bride-"well, which is a houſe of correction for impudent and diſorderly "perſons, but never heard till now that he was the queen's chaplain." As this was very true, and ſpoken without any reproach or diſgrace, Gregory had not a word to reply, but went away in a great rage; and the Scots ridiculing him heartily, came into the ſentiments of A. C.

About this time, by the earl of Sunderland's advice, a demand was made upon Mr. Harley for a ſervice of ſilver plate, which had been formerly delivered to him out of the queen's jewel office, according to the cuſtom of this kingdom, to the ſpeaker; which, when the queen was told of, her majeſty confirmed it to him by a new grant.

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MR. HARLEY married his daughter to the lord viſcount Duplin, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Kinnoull. Mr. Henry St. John, ſecretary of war, and Sir Simon Harcourt, the queen's attorney-general in England, laid down their offices, and entered into concert with Mr. Harley, in order to ſupplant the Marlborough party. At the ſame time there were perſons of both ſexes, bold, needy, and factious, who, from their poverty, ill manners, and impudence, were eaſily induced to diſturb the public under the ſhew of being friends to peace. Mr. Harley, who gave Mrs. Maſham ſecret inſtructions, had people of all religions to attend him. Mr. St. John, who was a man of bright parts, but bad morals, attached the young men to his perſon: for the greateſt rakes and rioters were his moſt intimate friends. And Sir Simon Harcourt, who was famous rather for his natural parts, than for ſound learning, was followed by the beggarly crowd of greedy lawyers, and all ſuch as had ſquandered away their eſtates, and run themſelves deep in debt, and ſuch as were engaged in law-ſuits and judgments, or ſuch as were even in dread of legal puniſhments. Theſe men had the good wiſhes of the worſt part of the clergy, who taught the inexperienced multitude to attempt every thing for the church: and whatever crimes of rebellion and ſedition they had charged againſt the diſſenters in former times, the clergy themſelves now freely committed without ſcruple or reſtraint.

THE dutcheſs of Marlborough ſeldom came to court. This revengeful ſpirit of the women was very unhappy, and gave great advantage to their adverſaries; for thereby Mrs. Maſham gained a much greater ſhare of the queen's favour: and this circumſtance appears to me to have been the principal cauſe of haſtening on the evils that ſoon after this came upon the nation. It is ſaid the dutcheſs of Marlborough's abſenting herſelf from court was owing to the advice of the earl of Godolphin and admiral Churchill; which many thought was ill judged: for her abſence gave great encouragement to her enemies, and diſcouragement to her friends.

Supplies for the year 1708.

THIS year the parliament advanced ſupplies to the amount of five million nine hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and forty-nine

nine pounds; to the king of Denmark one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; to the landgrave of Heſſe twenty-five thouſand pounds; to the elector of Triers as much; to the duke of Savoy ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds; to the king of Portugal ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds, half of which the Dutch were to pay for their ſhare; to the king of Pruſſia two hundred thouſand pounds by the Engliſh, to whom alſo half as much was to be advanced by the Dutch; to king Charles one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and for the ſervice of the war in Italy one hundred and ſeven thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four pounds. Beſides theſe ſubſidies, there was money raiſed for the pay of the forces in Spain and Flanders; and, laſtly, a vaſt ſum for the ſervice at ſea. For the Engliſh this year maintained ſixty-nine men of war, and the Dutch forty-three: every ſailor being allowed four pounds per month. At this time, when the Engliſh were tranſporting to Flanders the ſupplies, clothing, and other neceſſaries for the war, theſe narrowly eſcaped being all taken by the French privateers which infeſted all the ſeas.

At this time there was a great ſcarcity of proviſions in France, as well as a want of ſoldiers and horſes to recruit their troops. The latter the king procured from the Swiſs; the former he raiſed in his own provinces: and the governors of the provinces rated every city, town, and pariſh, in proportion to their numbers; but took no care to have new inhabitants provided and ſettled there: ſo that in many places the fields were quite deſolate; and in others the tender women were forced to perform the works of huſbandry. And now the dearth increaſed to the price of twelve livres a buſhel of corn, or eight ſols a pound of bread; and the ſoldiers were greatly debilitated by this ſcarcity: which encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that there was no ſmall fear of a famine, and that grievances and ſufferings would grow daily more inſupportable all over the country. At Orleans many people periſhed through mere want: and at Paris the people roſe in tumults. The king, overloaded with debts, and labouring under the want of money, was afraid, leſt, while matters were in ſuch a ſtate, the kingdom might be ruined, began to think of calling new miniſters into his council: caſting his eyes upon monſieur des Maretz and monſieur

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Voiſin, men of great experience in money matters and taxes, in the place of monſieur Chamillard. At laſt the king of Denmark made a progreſs into Italy, in order to concert meaſures for a peace; for now the French king was willing to make uſe of his mediation.

The campaign in 1708.

THE French king, taking into his conſideration the ſtate of his armies, entruſted that in Flanders to the duke of Vendoſme, though he honoured the duke of Burgundy, the heir of his crown, with the title of commander in chief. Theſe were accompanied by the duke of Berry, the elector of Bavaria, and the chevalier de St. George, whom we have ſpoken of before under the denomination of the Pretender.

THE duke of Berwick was ſometimes ſent into Germany, and ſometimes into Flanders; and the marſhal Villars into Savoy, where he was not likely to reap any rich harveſt. When the command of his armies was thus ſettled, many were apprehenſive of bad fortune, from the French king's ſudden change of his meaſures, and the plurality of generals in Flanders, becauſe no one was appointed to the ſupreme command in that country.

IN the mean time the duke of Marlborough ſet out for Holland in March; from whence he proceeded to Hanover in April, to concert meaſures with the elector, and prince Eugene, concerning matters of the higheſt importance, and the operations of the next campaign. And when they had come to a reſolution concerning the forces which were to march into Flanders from the Upper Rhine, and other affairs, prince Eugene went to the Rhine to aſſemble the troops, and the duke of Marlborough to Flanders, where, on the 12th day of May, he reviewed the army, newly drawn out of their winter-quarters, near Bruſſels. From thence the duke marched towards the foreſt of Ardenne, and there lay a long time not far from the enemy's camp, waiting for the arrival of the German forces. The confederate army conſiſted of one hundred and twelve battalions, and one hundred and eighty ſquadrons: and that of the French of one hundred and twenty-four battalions, and one hundred and ninety-ſeven ſquadrons.

The

The French were, therefore much ſuperior in number to the confederates.

THE duke of Burgundy, who, according to his age, was full of courage, and very ſprightly, and now inflamed with a paſſion for military glory, haſtened with all poſſible ſpeed to the camp near the foreſt of Ardenne, on the confines of Soiſſons. He had not been three days in the camp, when he was deſirous of making ſome brave attempt: he therefore called a council of war; and, after hearing the ſeveral opinions of the general officers, agreed to that of the elector of Bavaria. For that prince having long been governor of the Netherlands, had, by his liberality, acquired great intereſt among the inhabitants; and now declared to the council what correſpondence he held with the citizens of Ghent. The duke of Burgundy, who thought he might that way penetrate into the heart of Flanders, that he might not ſlip any opportunity of performing a gallant action, commanded the brigadiers de la Faille and Paſteur, with their brigades, to march thither by roads well known to them, while he himſelf moved the ſame way, by various marches, that he might over-reach the confederates. At length having completely outwitted them, he made a ſudden march towards Ghent, to ſupport his party. The duke of Marlborough, though at that time indiſpoſed, yet fearing the loſs of Ghent, haſtened thither without intermiſſion, day and night; but hearing by the way what had paſſed at Ghent, he pitched his camp near Bruſſels; and ſlackening his own pace, diſpatched major-general Murray towards Ghent. The citizens of that town, as had been before agreed on with the count de Bergeyck, opened their gates at firſt to a few Frenchmen, who were followed by other ſtraggling parties, under pretence of being deſerters. At length brigadier de la Faille came up with a ſtronger party, who ſummoned the citizens to ſurrender, and preſented the elector of Bavaria's letter to the magiſtrates. This being done, on the 9th day of July, he received from the citizens their oath of fidelity to king Philip. He now ſummoned the governor of the citadel alſo to ſurrender it to him. Monſieur de Laubene, the governor, who had been left there with a garriſon of two hundred men, refuſed; declaring, that he would defend the citadel to the laſt extremity: but when Murray's forces, which

Ghent ſurprized by the French.

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which were coming to his relief, were repulſed by the enemy, he at laſt ſurrendered the citadel upon honourable terms. When Ghent had thus ſubmitted, the inhabitants of Alos alſo opened their gates to the duke of Burgundy: and theſe were followed by the citizens of Bruges, and the neighbouring towns, and almoſt of all Flanders, who ſent their deputies to the duke of Burgundy, with promiſes of their obedience to his commands.

In the mean time, as the duke of Burgundy marched his army by that of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, who was now ſomewhat recovered of his indiſpoſition, ordered his horſe to fall upon the rear of the enemy. Theſe being put to flight, the duke of Burgundy's own baggage fell into the hands of the purſuing troops; which the duke of Marlborough ordered to be returned to him the next day.

As ſoon as prince Eugene had intelligence of what was doing in Flanders, he marched day and night to join the duke of Marlborough, and ordered his forces to follow him by long marches to Flanders. When the treachery of the citizens of Ghent was publicly reported, he had come with his forces ſo far as Maeſtricht; where he left to others the conduct of their march, and came himſelf with all ſpeed to the duke of Marlborough's camp. Though the duke of Marlborough's fever had not yet left him, the army immediately moved towards Ghent. But having ſent major-general Cadogan before, with a choice body of troops, the confederates took poſſeſſion of the camp of Leſſines, which is looked upon as the moſt advantageous place in all Flanders for an encampment.

When the French were informed of the confederates approach, their army was ſeized with ſuch a pannic fear, that they knew not which way to move. When a council of war was called, ſome were for retiring behind their lines; others for laying ſiege to Oudenard. When this laſt ſtep was reſolved on, the French paſſing along the Scheldt, ſent a detachment to Oudenard, and ſummoned the town to ſurrender: but as that demand was ſomewhat timorouſly made, ſo it was by the governor boldly refuſed.

refuſed. Brigadier Chanclos, gathering ſome few ſoldiers ſuddenly together out of the neighbouring garriſons, by order of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, threw himſelf into the town. The confederates having gained the camp of Leſſines, the French broke up from before Oudenard, on the 11th day of July, intending to paſs the Scheldt at Gaveren.

Battle of Oudenard.

THE duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, obſerving theſe various motions of the enemy, endeavoured, if poſſible, to bring them to a battle. Major-general Cadogan was ſent out in the morning with eighteen battalions and eight ſquadrons, to open a way for the army, and lay a bridge over the river near Oudenard: and the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene followed him with ſuch expedition, that by two o'clock in the afternoon the whole army came in ſight of the enemy. The electoral prince of Hanover, inflamed with military ardour, and in whom not only the hopes of Great Britain but every virtue was united, came now to make his firſt campaign, and acquaint himſelf with the Britiſh cuſtoms, and the art of war. No ſooner were the bridges prepared and fixed, than the prince, through a greatneſs of ſoul peculiar to himſelf, having obtained the duke of Marlborough's leave, paſſed the Scheldt with great reſolution among the foremoſt; and placing himſelf ſometimes at the head of his father's horſe, and ſometimes of brigadier Sabine's battalion, he, with incomparable valour, overthrew the enemy, which were poſted on the other ſide, to prevent the confederates from paſſing the river: for ſometimes the engagement was without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, and the confederates had long ſuſtained the aſſault of a large body of the enemy. At length the duke of Marlborough ſent them a reinforcement of freſh troops; but either through their marching too ſlowly, or the difficulty of paſſing the river, it ſo happened, that the whole glory of the firſt attack was aſcribed to the prince of Hanover and his party. As ſoon as the French perceived our colours and ſtandards advancing, they began to take poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds: and having ſent away their baggage on both ſides, the battle was continued a long time, and the enemy were vanquiſhed.

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THE time of this engagement was of great importance to the confederates, both for their own ſafety, and their victory over the enemy: for the French were not in any good order, nor under any certain command; inſomuch that they had hardly drawn up their army that day, but fought in looſe bodies. When, about three o'clock, they were drawing off their forces from the left wing to the right, major-general Cadogan, improving that opportunity, ordered brigadier Sabine to attack ſeven of the enemy's battalions in the village of Heynem, while the count de Bulau, who commanded the Hanoverians, and major-general Rantzau, fell upon their horſe, which were marching along the plain, and drove them into the hedges. This was a very dangerous attempt; but the youthful vigour and magnanimity of the prince of Hanover, and the confidence he had in the happy event, contributed very much both to the trial and ſucceſs of it. Three of thoſe battalions were taken in the town; the reſt eſcaped by flight. The enemy's horſe alſo, being routed by Bulau and Rantzau, turned their backs, leaving behind them many of their men, and twelve ſtandards, and fled to the neighbouring hills.

IN the mean while, major-general Cadogan being ſent out with a few ſquadrons and battalions, withſtood all the force of the enemy, and kept poſſeſſion of the hedges with great reſolution.

THE prince of Hanover, by his preſence, inſpired the ſoldiers with high ſpirits, and, regardleſs of all dangers, threw himſelf among the thickeſt of the enemy. When his horſe was killed, he mounted another, and exhorting the ſoldiers, advanced again with colonel Luſchki's ſquadron; and though Luſchki was ſlain cloſe by his ſide, yet was he not afraid, but led on the ſquadron himſelf; and now inflamed with hopes of victory, he broke through and routed the ſtrongeſt body of the enemy's forces. On that day this excellent young prince diſcovered ſuch courage, as no man living ought to forget, and as all poſterity will never ſurpaſs. And in England, it was ſaid he had in this battle made his fortune equal to his virtue.

ABOUT

ABOUT four o'clock the duke of Marlborough ordered the horſe on the left of the right wing to paſs the river: he commanded the foot to preſs their march, while he drew up the horſe, leaving ſpaces to receive the foot between them.

THEN the French began to rally their army, and to prepare for the attack. Before their troops were well in order, the engagement began with unequal numbers. As the French made their firſt aſſault with great fury, the body of the Pruſſians was diſordered. Here a ſmall number of men long maintained their ground againſt a great number of the enemy; and major-general Collier and brigadier Grumko, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their extraordinary valour in this encounter. While they were thus unequally engaged, behold, the duke of Argyle coming up very ſeaſonably to their ſuccour with twenty battalions. The duke, relieving thoſe tired ſoldiers with freſh recruits, renewed the fight, and repulſed the foremoſt of the enemy with a prodigious ſlaughter. The enemy, being yet much ſuperior in numbers, thought to fall upon the confederates on the open flank, and at the ſame time to ſurround them behind, and returned again to the fight. The duke of Argyle received them with firmneſs, and drove them back again into the neighbouring hedges. The ſmall number of his own forces, and the apprehenſion of an ambuſcade, hindered Argyle from purſuing them farther, or forcing his way through the incloſures. Here the duke maintained a long and bloody fight both in front and flank, till count Lottum, the Pruſſian general, arrived in the army, and poſted his freſh troops in a vacant ſpace on the left of Argyle.

THE duke of Marlborough obſerving this, and foreſeeing that the fight would be hard on the right wing, ordered a reinforcement of twenty battalions to be ſent from the left wing to ſupport his men on the right. On this the duke of Argyle and count Lottum fell furiouſly upon the enemy with all their forces on the right: and the left wing, having paſſed the river, began now, about ſeven o'clock, to form themſelves in order of battle.

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THE duke of Marlborough ſent orders to the veldt-marſhal D'Auverquerque on the left, to preſs the enemy as much as poſſible, that they might not be able to ſpare any of their forces from their right wing to the ſupport of thoſe on the left. D'Auverquerque obeyed, and ſent major-general Weck and the brigadier Waſſenaer, and Naſſau Oudenburg, under the conduct of count Tilly, to march along the tops of the hills, and through the narrow paſſes. When they approached to the enemy, they found the French king's houſehold troops drawn up within an incloſure. Theſe French guards, whom the duke of Vendoſme expected to have made the braveſt ſtand, no ſooner ſaw the duke's enſigns advancing, than they retired to the caſtle of Beveren. Here the duke and the Danes fought very bravely, with various ſucceſs. The prince of Naſſau Frieſland, a youth of ſingular courage, came ſeaſonably to the ſupport of his countrymen with four regiments; and falling immediately upon the flank of the enemy, put their houſehold troops to flight.

THE night now coming on, while part of their ſcattered troops made the beſt of their way towards their own confines, the dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme, with the reſt of their army, retreated into the neighbourhood of Ghent. Some of their forces, endeavouring to eſcape under cover of the night, accidentally fell in with the confederates. Theſe were immediately ſurrounded, and commanded to lay down their arms; which they did without making any reſiſtance, and were therefore all ſpared, but made priſoners. When it was quite dark, the duke of Marlborough gave orders to his forces to fire no more after the enemy, but to take ſome reſpite, ſince they were fatigued with the hard ſervice of the whole day; and that they might otherwiſe, in the dark, fall foul upon one another.

THE next day, as ſoon as it was light, the duke of Marlborough diſpatched the generals Lumley and Bulau, with forty ſquadrons, to purſue the enemy in their retreat towards Ghent. Theſe ſquadrons, coming up with their rear, had a ſhort engagement at firſt with their horſe; but at length ſome ſquadrons of theſe being routed, while ours were in cloſe purſuit of them, the enemy's foot, who had been planted in the hedges for an ambuſcade, ſuddenly diſcovered themſelves; on

the ſight of which, the generals Lumley and Bulau returned to the camp, with the loſs of a few of their men, as all the roads were either broken up, or lined with ſoldiers poſted in the hedges.

A GREAT number of the enemy are ſaid to have been killed that day. Three thouſand were computed to have been ſlain, ſix thouſand of the common ſoldiers to have been taken priſoners, and five hundred captains and other officers, among whom were the two Birons, both field-officers, with a hundred ſtandards and colours. The confederates had a thouſand men killed, and two thouſand wounded. To relate the gallant actions of every one in this battle would be both tedious and foreign to my purpoſe. None of them was wanting either in courage or conduct; and all the forces of the ſeveral princes and ſtates were publicly and highly applauded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who alſo recommended them to the favour and bounty of their reſpective ſovereigns, as well as the widows and children of thoſe who were ſlain in the battle. The French being either naturally much addicted to preſages, or elſe frightned at the ſlaughter of their ſoldiers, laid ambuſcades in all the roads towards Ghent, and prepared every thing for their own defence: and now they heartily repented their march into the heart of Flanders.

WHEN the news of this victory arrived at London, the whole city was tranſported with joy. And to perpetuate the remembrance thereof to all poſterity, a medal was ſtruck with this inſcription:

GALLIS AD ALDENARDUM VICTIS.
XXX DIE JUNIJ MDCCVIII.

THE ſame night after the battle, the duke of Burgundy entered Ghent, accompanied with his brother Berry. The duke de Vendoſme, weary of the command of that young prince, and his fellow-ſoldiers, cloſed the rear, and, without ſtopping all the night, brought up his much-weakened forces, as well as he could the next day. Having marched his army through Ghent, he encamped out of the city at

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Lovendeghen on the canal, and haraſſed the Dutch Flanders with rigorous exactions and depredations. The enemy, having taken Plaſſendall, and levelled the lines, fell upon the inhabitants of the iſle of Cadſandt with fire and ſword.

In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, not to loſe any opportunity of advancing the work they had yet to do, having taken a reſolution to beſiege Liſle, ſent count Lottum to demoliſh the enemy's lines at Warneton. The duke of Marlborough followed him, marching along the road which leads towards Menin, and levelled the lines at the river Lys.

The ſame day prince Eugene went to Bruſſels. Thither alſo the Germans, whom he expected, came in all haſte about the ſame time. Ghent poſſeſſed by the French, and the ſituation of the French camp, were a great obſtacle to the communication of the confederates; for they being maſters of the Scheld and the Lys, had ſo fortified both thoſe rivers, as to diſappoint the duke of Marlborough, both of his proviſions and ammunition. Great exertions were made on both ſides. Vendoſme ſtrove as much as poſſible to ſtraiten Marlborough's communication; Marlborough and prince Eugene, to open a clear road for the army to march. Prince Eugene, with this view, ordered granaries to be made at Bruſſels, and obliged the people of the country to furniſh him with carriages and horſes. But the duke of Berwick, being ordered into the inner parts of France, to draw forces together, in order to intercept the confederates proviſions and carriages, began now to move according to the change of fortune, and prepared to make an irruption into Brabant.

When proviſions were brought up from Holland, and the forces from Germany had arrived at Bruſſels, prince Eugene reſolved no longer to delay, but as ſoon as poſſible to have waggons and carriages loaded with bombs, guns, and all things neceſſary for a ſiege, under the convoy of twenty thouſand ſoldiers and two thouſand cuiraſſiers. They began their march with incredible reſolution. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, the prince of Heſſe, at the head of the horſe, having

ſent

ſent the baggage before with a guard, himſelf followed the proviſions, that in caſe there ſhould be any neceſſity for fighting, he might be at hand with his light army to prevent any ſuddden diſaſter. And thus proceeding, he arrived ſafe at the river Scheld, which is eight days march from Bruſſels, without any loſs.

In the mean time, that the duke of Marlborough might not ſeem to ſpend the time to no purpoſe, he drew out a choice body of troops, and diſpatched the earl of Orkney and count Tilly, major-general Rantzau, the baron Van Hompeſch, and major-general Webb, with forty ſquadrons and twelve battalions, to raiſe contributions in the provinces of Picardy and Artois. When theſe had raiſed a vaſt ſum of money in thoſe countries, they met with a party of French horſe on the road, and defeated eight hundred of them. A great many of the enemy being ſlain, and two hundred taken, the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight. While the confederates were in purſuit of them, they fell in with twelve hundred foot, who had been ſent out to ſuſtain their horſemen. But theſe were ſo full of fear and diſorder, that they took the ſame courſe with their horſe; and not a man of them ſtood their ground that was able to run away.

This happening in the neighbourhood of Lens, the duke of Vendoſme, leaving a garriſon in Ghent, left that place, and removed his camp towards Tournay, for the ſecurity of their frontiers. The duke of Marlborough met prince Eugene in his march; and theſe commanders having joined their armies, and brought up their military ſtores to Pottes, by the way of Menin, the prince of Naſſau was ſent out with thirty battalions to take poſſeſſion of Marguette, within a mile and a half of Liſle, while, at the ſame time, lieutenant-general Wood marched with thirty-four ſquadrons to Potteghem.

When all things were in readineſs for laying ſiege to Liſle, the duke de Vendoſme ſaid, "He could not ſufficiently wonder that ſuch an "attempt ſhould be made by generals of ſo much experience." But they, encouraging their ſoldiers, made it appear to them how conducive

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ducive it is to the concluſion of a war, and how ſerviceable to the relief of thoſe who are in want of every thing, to get poſſeſſion of a city abounding in plenty and riches; and ſo they engaged in the enterprize.

LISLE is the moſt flouriſhing city in all Flanders, ſituated upon the river Deyle, moſt convenient for commerce, and exceedingly ſtrong both by nature and the fortifications around it. It was now held by the marquis de Surville, with a garriſon of twenty-five battalions, aſſiſted by lieutenant-general Lee, a man of great reputation for military talents; but over all was the marſhal de Boufflers, who had but lately thrown himſelf into the city. Both of theſe commanders had iſſued orders for deſtroying all the country-ſeats, churches, and other buildings, and cutting down the trees in all the fields round about the city. This city, well furniſhed with all proviſions for its defence againſt a ſiege, was ſurrounded on all ſides on the 13th of Auguſt, by prince Eugene and the prince of Naſſau Frieſland, who had already made themſelves maſters of all the avenues, with ſixty battalions; and the enemy did not know on what ſide the confederates would batter the walls. When the workmen were all in readineſs, prince Eugene gave orders for opening the trenches in the firſt watch of the night.

Liſle beſieged.

IN the mean time, the marſhal de Boufflers ordered his ſoldiers to cover their intrenchments, and to draw trenches between the works. Prince Eugene ordered his camp to be fortified with a circumvallation towards the city, and to be well furniſhed with all kinds of proviſions. That night the trenches and mines were carried on, and the works raiſed with ſuch ſilence and expedition by the beſiegers, that they had fairly covered themſelves, before the enemy perceived them. The ſame was done every night afterwards; for they ſpared no part of the night to reſt from their labour. When this was diſcovered by the beſieged, they made a prodigious diſcharge of their cannon, and by the force of the fire, and their frequent ſallies, endeavoured to deſtroy the beſiegers, engineers, and firemen, and the ſoldiers who ſupported them.

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THE firſt days were ſpent in various ſkirmiſhes about St. Magdalen's Chapel, and a windmill, which ſtood without the gate of St. Andrew. As ſoon as the beſiegers were maſters of thoſe, they carried on their lines with unremitted diligence to the ſalient angles of the counterſcarp, and reſolved to attack the entrenchment on the 7th day of September; which being known, and that the confederates muſt neceſſarily make proviſions of timber and forage, and erect ſeveral works, at the ſame time that they were to attack others, the duke of Burgundy, who had intelligence by his ſpies every hour of what paſſed at Liſle, gave orders to move his camp, and to advance towards the duke of Marlborough.

THE duke of Marlborough drew up his men out of his camp, in order to meet him. Auguſtus king of Poland and prince Eugene, having intelligence of this motion of the camp, left forces to defend the works before Liſle, and came with all ſpeed to the duke of Marlborough's aſſiſtance with ſixty ſquadrons and twenty battalions; ſo did alſo general Fagel with ſeven battalions, which he led up out of Flanders. When the duke of Marlborough was aſſured of the enemy's approach, he ordered his men to arms, and marched directly towards the enemy, to give the duke of Burgundy an opportunity, if he had an inclination to hazard a battle. The earl of Athlone, being ſent out with fifteen hundred horſe, happened in his march to fall in with ſome of the duke of Berwick's ſquadrons, whom he overthrew. The duke of Burgundy, diſtruſting his forces, after divers marches and countermarches, ordered his men to retreat. He narrowly obſerved all the confederate's means of providing forage and corn; and laid waſte the fields to cut off their ſupplies; nor did he leave any corn for bread, or other neceſſaries of life for the inhabitants of the villages or towns, except of ſuch as were fortified, or as otherwiſe, by the natural ſituation of the place, ſeemed to be out of all danger. A great dearth, therefore, aroſe in the country, and ſuch a ſickneſs, as ſeemed to threaten a peſtilence.

THE duke of Marlborough fortified his camp, and prince Eugene returned to the ſiege. And now every thing being ready for the attack

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tack of the counterscarp, on the 7th day of September Messrs Des Roques and Du Mey, who had the direction of the works, came at night into the trenches; and prince Eugene himself encouraging the troops which were posted under cover of the trenches, and promising rewards to those who should first mount the enemy's works, commanded the signal to be given. No sooner was the word spoken than they rushed forward on all hands, and filled the entrenchments. The besieged ran to arms, and a loud shout being raised along the wall, a terrible discharge was made of the cannon and other fire-arms on both sides; and all things around became one scene of clouds of fire, and smoke, and death; so that it was hard to know which way to move, or who was in the most need of succour. So obstinate a resistance was every where made, as if the besieged had thought the whole safety of France depended upon this single point of time. At length the counterscarp was taken by the confederates, who also secured themselves in the covered way. The besieged used their utmost endeavours with mines and guns, but all in vain, to dislodge them.

The duke of Burgundy, having removed his camp, pitched his tents not far from the duke of Marlborough. On receiving intelligence of this, and that their foragers were then in the neighbourhood of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough reported the news to his guests, who were then at dinner with him. Lieutenant-general Wood, with the duke of Marlborough's leave, arose immediately from the table, and marched out only with one or two battalions to chastise the insolence of those foragers. As this was done within the sight of both armies, many volunteers of all ranks accompanied general Wood. After the foragers were bravely put to flight, major-general Webb, who was courageous in all dangers, not content with the flight of the foragers, attempted also to dislodge the enemy from an old ruinous tower, in which they had placed a garrison; but was repulsed with the loss of many of his own party and volunteers. The duke of Argyle flew immediately to his assistance through the enemy's ambuscade; but finding it was impracticable, he drew off his men, and making his way back through the thickest of the enemy's fire, and forces,

forces, returned again to the camp; ſo that all their attempts to take the tower were fruitleſs.

THE duke of Burgundy, in hopes to draw off prince Eugene from the ſiege, gave orders to draw out his forces, and put himſelf at the head of his army. Prince Eugene came up again to the army with a body of troops. Thus both the armies ſtood facing each other; ſo that thoſe who ſaw how near they were, would have thought the French were almoſt hardy enough to venture a battle. But prince Eugene, having obſerved the poor condition they were in, well knew, by his long experience in war, that the ſhew they made of fighting was nothing but a feint, and therefore returned to the ſiege. He cauſed the works to be carried on daily; and making ſome alteration in the conduct of the ſiege, ordered a greater number of men to lie in ambuſh, to deſtroy the enemy's works in the trenches or covered-way: leſt our engineers ſhould break through theſe, the enemy fortified them with traverſes.

ON the 20th day of September, when prince Eugene made a general aſſault upon theſe works, he met with a ſtout reſiſtance. When their grenadiers were repulſed, he led them up again in perſon to the attack. At the ſame time, there was a ſally made out of two gates on both ſides. In this engagement there was a very great ſlaughter. For the French had drawn traverſes acroſs the ways and the works; but nevertheleſs, the confederates are ſaid to have overcome by their valour, rather than their experience in ſieges. In the conqueſt of theſe works the confederates ſpent fourteen days in continual fighting. Prince Eugene received a ſlight wound by the declining ball of a diſtant muſket. And while he was thereby confined to his tent for ſome days, the duke of Marlborough, who was now the general of both armies, performed at the ſame time the office of an aſſailant in the one, and a defendant in the other; and all things ſucceeded to his wiſh. But, after the walls had been long battered, and a breach made in them, the citizens ſo diſpoſed of the materials, that the rubbiſh hindered the confederates from mounting it.

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When the duke de Vendoſme knew that the beſieged were in want of gunpowder, he detached the chevalier de Luxemburgh towards the city with four hundred and ſix horſemen, with forty pounds behind each of them. When they came to the out-guards they were examined, What they wanted? who, and whence they were? and whether they were going? They made ſuch anſwers as they thought fit. As ſoon as they had paſſed, they were ſuſpected by the Palatines, who mounted their horſes, and purſued them. The whole camp ran to arms. When they had ſharply engaged for ſome time, the French broke through to the outworks of the city; but, not being immediately admitted, many of them were ſlain by the purſuers about the gate; others of them were repulſed. The reſt made their way into the city. In the midſt of this hurry, the fire which aroſe from the horſes ſhoes galloping upon the flinty ſtones, catched the powder, and blew up the horſes and riders into the air with a prodigious exploſion; which was an uncommon and dreadful ſpectacle. The beſieged made a ditch and entrenchment within the walls and behind the breach, which was ſtronger than the wall itſelf. And the beſiegers alſo, either through the unſkilfulneſs of La Roques and Du Mey, who had the direction of the works and the conduct of the ſiege, or elſe on account of the long continuance of it, began now to be in want of what was neceſſary for carrying it on. All the roads were now incumbered by the enemy.

The duke of Marlborough had foreſeen what happened. He, therefore, ordered magazines to be prepared at Oſtend; and being aſſured of lieutenant-general Erle's arrival there with a body of troops from England, he detached major-general Cadogan, to conduct what was neceſſary for the ſiege. Cadogan, with great diligence, loaded ſix hundred waggons with all kinds of proviſions, and uſing the utmoſt expedition, ſet out with a ſmall guard, hardly ſufficient to ſecure them. For either the duke of Berwick, or the count de la Motte had reſolved to lie in wait for him in his march. When this fact was reported to the duke of Marlborough, he ſaid, "If that convoy of proviſions "ſhould be intercepted, he muſt raiſe the ſiege."

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But, to prevent this, he ſent major-general Webb with another detachment to join Cadogan; and, at the ſame time, that he might have an opportunity to redeem the credit which he might ſeem to have loſt in his late repulſe, he advanced to meet Cadogan to the town of Wynendale. There count Lottum and his ſpies gave him notice of La Motte's approach, to whom the duke of Berwick had given the command of his army. Major-general Webb drew up his forces very advantageouſly. Major-general Cadogan, having paſſed by with the convoy not above two hours before, eſcaped the danger, through the extraordinary diligence of colonel Preſton.

Battle of Wynendale.

The count de la Motte, who before had envied the duke of Berwick's glory, confiding now in the multitude of his troops, and deſpiſing the ſmall number of the confederates, advanced directly againſt Webb with twenty-two thouſand men, and forty cannon. Webb's troops were about ſix thouſand. Theſe he had drawn up in three lines, in a place covered with buſhes and woods. About that time, colonel Preſton came up to the aſſiſtance of his friends. General Webb poſted his foot in ambuſcade in each of his wings, extending them both to the woods, leſt he ſhould be attacked in open flank, or ſurrounded by the multitude of his enemies. Count Lottum was ſent out with the advanced guard of a hundred and fifty horſe to the village in the opening of the plain. There he diſcovered the enemy approaching, and amuſed them till general Webb had drawn up his foot in order of battle. La Motte, being eager to engage, began at firſt to cannonade the confederates at a diſtance, before they were well formed; and then he gave orders to advance. When the enemy was now coming to an engagement, count Lottum was ordered to retire, and poſt himſelf behind the foot. And as ſoon as the enemy was advanced within Webb's ambuſcade, and about a hundred and fifty paces diſtance of our army, they who lay in ambuſh on our right wing, attacked thoſe who were advanced with ſuch a fierce fire in flank as drove their left wing in upon their centre. At the ſame time, the Pruſſians in general Webb's left wing did the ſame, repulſed the firſt line of the enemy, and forced their right wing into the middle of their army.

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THE battle now began to grow hot in the main army. When the enemy, puſhing on furiouſly againſt all who ſtood in their way, had put two of the confederate's battalions in diſorder, a regiment of the Swiſs made a brave ſtand againſt their force, and kept them in play, till count Naſſau, general D'Auverquerque's ſon, had time to bring up three regiments entire to relieve thoſe who were fatigued. The count, with great alacrity and expedition, defended the lines, and renewed the fight; and it was carried on with great obſtinacy on both ſides.

As count de la Motte was greatly ſuperior in number, ſo was count Naſſau in valour. At length the enemy, being forced to give way, began to retreat; and count Naſſau preſſed them hard. But general Webb commanded him not to purſue them, leſt the purſuers ſhould, in the heat of action, ſuffer from his own ambuſcades as much as from the enemy. For it often happens, in great dangers, that the courageous ſuffer as much as cowards.

THE enemy being galled with the terrible fire from the ambuſcade on both ſides, quitted the field of battle with great precipitation, and fired on our troops at a diſtance; nor could the French be prevailed on, either by perſuaſion or promiſes, to return again to a cloſe engagement.

IN the midſt of all this hurry, major-general Cadogan, coming to the battle with two ſquadrons of horſe, propoſed to renew the attack, that the affair might be brought to a more honourable concluſion. This advice was not approved by many, becauſe the ſpirits of the men were greatly exhauſted through the fatigue; and, at the ſame time, thoſe who were wounded, could neither have returned out of the army, nor have been removed to any ſafe place. And when general Webb himſelf alſo did not think it ſafe to hazard any farther purſuit, it was reſolved to remain in the field of battle, and to continue under arms that night.

THE enemy having loſt four thouſand of their men, according to general Webb's account, returned to Ghent full of diſgrace and vexation. General Webb returned to the camp highly elated with his ſucceſs;

ſucceſs; for on that depended the whole fortune of the ſiege, and the ſafety of the army. Every body congratulated him on his victory: and he highly commended the alacrity of count Naſſau, the prudence of count Lottum, and the courage of all the ſoldiers; but he would not allow a ſhare of the victory to any body but himſelf. As virtue is moſt commonly attended by envy, ſo, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs at Wynendale was undoubtedly of great importance to the ſiege of Liſle, yet there afterward aroſe ſuch controverſies in England on that account, according to the difference of parties, that this very thing was the cauſe of much inconvenience in the conduct of the war, and of the reſtitution of Liſle afterwards to the French king.

As ſoon as the convoy arrived in the camp with the ſupplies, and prince Eugene had recovered his wound, the conduct of the ſiege was altered; every thing was carried on with more expedition, and the ſoldiers, with redoubled diligence and application, made ample amends for the time they had loſt.

On the 29th of September, prince Eugene commanded an aſſault to be made upon that part of the counterſcarp which was raiſed before the breach in the wall, calling out to that ſervice the prince of Holſteinbeck, Sir Richard Temple, an Engliſhman, and ſome others, whom he knew to be men of courage. When the ſignal was given, theſe obeyed their orders, and mounting the entrenchment, drove the enemy from their works into the tranverſe ditches on the left, and aſſaulted two watch-towers, which, after ſpringing their mines, the beſieged quitted in a hurry: part of thoſe who fled were cut to pieces, and part of them drowned in the ditch; and then the beſiegers provided machines to drain the water out of the ditch. The beſieged filled the ditch again with water, let into it from other places, but all in vain; and in order to fill up the breach in the wall, they ſtruck in piles, with beams acroſs them for a foundation; and at laſt prepared pitch and ſulphur, and other combuſtibles, to throw among the aſſailants, with which they hoped to do great execution. The beſiegers brought up fifty-one cannon and twenty-four bombs, which they mounted againſt the city: after which there was no longer any opportunity

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tunity of defending the walls: for now the enemy's cannon were burſt and diſmounted, and a breach was ſuddenly made in the wall: then the confederates carried on a ſap through the ditch, and filled it up with buſhes and hurdles: at length, when they had opened a way to paſs the ditch, the beſieged no ſooner ſaw that, than dreading that their city would be plundered, they became ſenſible, that when the aſſault was to be made, nothing could prevent them from being plundered, and their rich city deſtroyed: they therefore hung out a flag of truce upon the walls, and treated with prince Eugene on the 22d of October about terms of ſurrender. Marſhal de Boufflers demanded what he ſaw fit for the king's garriſon and ſoldiers: as to what concerned the city, he left that to the magiſtrates and the citizens to redeem themſelves.

Liſle ſurrendered.

When the French had loſt all hopes of ſaving the city, they began to fortify the citadel. Prince Eugene demanded both the city and citadel to be ſurrendered to him; but this was oppoſed by the duke of Burgundy. At laſt they agreed on the 23d of October for the ſurrender of the city only, upon honourable terms. During the truce, a full ſtop was put to all action, offenſive or defenſive; and though St. Magdalen's gate was opened on the 23d, yet the truce was prolonged till the 29th, all which time there was a total ceſſation of arms both in the city and the citadel.

In this long ſiege the French are ſaid to have loſt ſeven thouſand men, and the confederates as many: ſome reckon ten thouſand more; and perhaps not amiſs, if all incidents be conſidered. Sir Richard Temple carried the firſt news of the taking this city to the queen: in his journey he was obliged to paſs through by-roads; for the French army were in poſſeſſion of all places of note, and all paſſes of the river Scheldt.

The duke of Vendoſme being highly offended with the count de la Motte, on account of the diſgrace he had lately received, went himſelf to Ghent, and commanded all the ſea-banks between Newport and Bruges to be cut, ſo that the waters overflowing all the fields, might

cut

cut off the confederates from their convoys, and all communication with Oſtend. This reſolution, which Vendoſme thought would have been of great ſervice to him, proved quite otherwiſe; for the ever diligent Cadogan being at firſt perplexed in his mind, by what ſort of carriage he might now conduct the ſupplies to the camp, at length took this reſolution: what was before done by waggons, he now performed by ſmall boats, ſo far as Leſſengen, and maintained that village, which was now ſurrounded with waters, as a garriſon. Thus fortune favoured induſtry; and what Vendoſme deſigned as the greateſt miſchief to the confederates, became the very means of the greateſt benefits to them. The duke de Vendoſme obſerving this, gave orders for the taking of Leſſengen. When that was attempted, the French were repulſed. Vendoſme reſolved to beſiege it in form. As ſoon as the cannon were planted, and the trenches opened, in the uſual military manner, he commanded his ſoldiers to make their approaches towards the town, through the inundation five feet deep; ſo that oftentimes in making this attack, nothing but their heads and ſhoulders were to be ſeen above the waters. Theſe being often repulſed, made no progreſs, nor could advance a foot for many days, till colonel Cauſield, whom I have mentioned before, was made commander of the garriſon and the guard. Cauſield, either through want of due care, or elſe by the corrupt influence of the enemy, ſuffered the French to come on and take the ſtrongeſt part of the town by ſurpriſe: after which he ſurrendered himſelf and his men to the enemy at diſcretion.

The magnanimity of an Engliſh common ſoldier.

I THINK it neither foreign to the end, nor derogatory from the dignity of hiſtory, in this place to record the magnanimity of a certain Engliſh common ſoldier. When the confederates made an irruption, and had repulſed the enemy, this man took and carried monſieur de Croiſſy Colbert a priſoner into the town. Colbert being a major-general, and brother to the marquis de Torcy, was greatly taken with the clemency, humanity, and good behaviour of the ſoldier. He offered him two hundred louis d'ors, and a captain's poſt for life, if he would give him his liberty: "but," ſaid the ſoldier, "perhaps I "might accept that favour, if it were not attended with ſuch diſ-

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"honour." But he gave him to underſtand, that he had always been more deſirous of reputation than riches: "How can I then (ſaid he) as "a captain, when once I have loſt my reputation, be ever able to face "my general, for whom I have fought ſo heartily many years?" In ſhort, he freely proteſted, that he would much rather continue in the rank of a common ſoldier with reputation, than be raiſed to any other ſtate or condition of life acquired by a baſe action unworthy of a ſoldier. And thus rejecting monſieur Colbert's propoſals, he brought him priſoner along with him. When this was reported to prince Eugene, he made the ſoldier a preſent, and the duke of Marlborough gave him a captain's commiſſion: ſo that the eminent fidelity and virtue of this ſoldier, by the grace of God, not given to all men alike, made amends for the vices and baſeneſs of the commander before mentioned.

AFTER the city of Liſle was taken, and long debates had been held about the ſurrender of the citadel, prince Eugene, labouring under the want of all things, delayed for ſome time to go on with the ſiege.

IN the mean time the veldt marſhal D'Auverquerque, a moſt excellent and honourable man, renowned for military valour, and highly eſteemed for his great virtues both among the Engliſh and Dutch, died in the camp at Rouſſilaer, on the 18th day of October, full of years and glory, and much lamented by all good men. The ſoldiers were alſo obſerved, throughout all the camp, to grieve and mourn at his death. Count Tilly was appointed to ſucceed to his command.

PRINCE EUGENE laboured under great difficulties through want of ammunition; as the duke of Marlborough alſo did for want of corn: but, nevertheleſs, they reſolved to undergo and endure all hardſhips whatever, rather than abandon the ſiege of the citadel. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme made it their ſtudy, by all means, to cut off the confederates from their ammunition and proviſions; for, by breaking down the dykes, and overflowing the country, the French had prevented their communication with Oſtend: and along the Scheldt they had

had drawn lines; and employing themſelves all the ſummer in raiſing works as far as the hills, oppoſite to Oudenard, they boaſted that they would hinder the confederates from marching on any ſide, and even prevent their retreat. The elector of Bavaria alſo, making an irruption into Brabant, prepared to attempt the reduction of Bruſſels: but for all thoſe evils the confederates found out theſe remedies.

PRINCE EUGENE thought it the beſt way to carry on the ſiege of the citadel by mines, in order to ſave his ammunition: and the duke of Marlborough ſent out parties of horſe into the province of Artois, and all parts around him, to bring in forage. Our men were ſometimes roughly handled by the enemy, though they took all poſſible care to provide for their wants: but they had certainly great difficulties to encounter on all hands.

THE earl of Stair, ſon of the former earl, who had acquired great military reputation, and was highly eſteemed by the duke of Marlborough, was ſent with a party of horſe of divers nations to forage in the neighbourhood of Furnes. Stair, by the way, fell in with four companies of the enemy's grenadiers, and overthrew them: when theſe were defeated and put to flight, he ſent out four troops of Pruſſians towards Furnes, under the command of colonel Catz, with orders not to proceed farther than was neceſſary; but to obſerve military diſcipline, and to keep a communication with his party: but Catz, raſhly thinking himſelf ſafe every where, advanced too far. The earl of Stair having notice of the enemy's approach, ſent him orders to return: but the colonel not obeying the command, and keeping too careleſs a watch, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded; and finding no way now left to retreat, ſurrendered himſelf and his troops to the enemy at diſcretion. The earl of Stair returned ſafe to the camp with a large quantity of corn, without which our men muſt of neceſſity have raiſed the ſiege.

ON the 11th day of November prince Eugene began to attack the citadel, having fortified his camp on one ſide; for the ſituation of the place did not permit him to make a circumvallation: neither was it ne-

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ceſſary, ſince there was a marſh between them which encompaſſed the greateſt part of the citadel.

Bavaria's attempt upon Bruſſels.

No ſooner were the mines carried on and extended ſo far as the outer part of the entrenchment, than an expreſs to the duke of Marlborough brought him the news of the elector of Bavaria's arrival before Bruſſels, and that the city was beſieged. Lieutenant-general Paſcal, governor of Bruſſels, ſent expreſſes to prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, deſiring them to come to his relief; and withal informing them, that he had great confidence in the ſtrength of his walls, and the courage of his forces, if he were ſpeedily ſuccoured; but that he was not able to hold out a long ſiege.

In this diſtreſs they were to make the utmoſt expedition; for not only the glory of the war, but all their common ſafety, was now at ſtake. Therefore, without delay, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, now, for the firſt time, ſomewhat at a loſs what courſe to take, ſent away the baggage by night; and removing their camp, marched by different routs towards Oudenard. When they had almoſt reached this place in great ſilence, and without ſound of trumpet, they diſpatched major-general Cadogan before them; and, to prevent a diſcovery of their ſpeedy march, all lighting of fires was forbidden; and every thing was tranſacted throughout the whole army with the moſt profound ſilence.

When Cadogan, by the favour of a cloudy night, had laid a bridge over the Scheldt, he marched his forces over to the other ſide for the defence of the bridge, without any oppoſition; for the enemy lay very quietly in their camp. On the 27th of November major-general Cadogan gave notice to the duke of Marlborough to haſten his march to the river; and in the mean time he attacked ſome battalions of the enemy, who lay too careleſsly on the out-guard.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, with the aſſiſtance of major-general Cadogan and brigadier-general Evans, and at the earneſt entreaty alſo of the ſoldiers themſelves, who refuſed not to expoſe

poſe themſelves to any hazard for the common ſafety, ſpeedily paſſed the army, with the utmoſt reſolution and courage, acroſs the Scheldt at Kirkhoven, in two lines. At the ſame time count Lottum and the earl of Orkney paſſed it at Gavre, without the leaſt oppoſition from the enemy. As ſoon as the confederates had paſſed, they drew up the army, and reſolved to attack the enemy. Here appeared a very ſudden turn of fortune. Thoſe who had brought others into danger, were now filled with apprehenſions of danger to themſelves; for the French had in the ſummer fortified the hills round about Oudenard, and both the banks of the Scheldt, with lines and many redoubts, to cut off the confederates from all their convoys, and even from an opportunity of retreating, as well as to prevent them from relieving Bruſſels: for they knew that when the fields around Liſle ſhould once be all waſted, they would ſoon be reduced to the laſt degree of want, and that they could not long endure hunger. Nor were the French without hopes to recover Liſle; which they flattered themſelves to accompliſh in the enſuing winter, when there would be no corn laid up there for winter ſtores, nor any to be got elſewhere, by reaſon of the rivers being frozen in the neighbourhood of the French garriſons, and the badneſs of the roads.

It is certain the confederates, labouring under many difficulties in their camp, were not in ſo much fear for themſelves and their retreat, as for Bruſſels and Antwerp. But having paſſed the river, they attacked the French camp: and now, when by the noiſe made in the night, and their watch, the enemy diſcovered the approach of our army, they quitted their lines, which had coſt them three months labour, under cover of the dark night, without ſtanding one attack, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion and conſternation. The Dutch horſe purſued them; but they, fighting as they fled, laid an ambuſcade to cover their rear, and made the beſt of their way into their own confines. The Dutch horſe, with ſome loſs, returned to their camp in the hills oppoſite to Oudenard.

Prince Eugene returned to the ſiege of the citadel; and the duke of Marlborough went to Bruſſels: for the elector of Bavaria, in order

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to draw the confederates off from Liſle, drew his forces at this time together at Namur and Mons; and ſending a party of ſoldiers into the Dutch Flanders, deſtroyed all that province along the Maeſe, ſo far as Bois le Duc, with fire and ſword; while he himſelf marched to Bruſſels with ſuch expedition, that he arrived there as ſoon as the news of his approach.

On the 23d of November the elector of Bavaria ſurrounded Bruſſels, and ſummoned lieutenant-general Paſcal to ſurrender the city. As there were two factions within it, different uſes were made of their different inclinations. The dutcheſs of Aremberg, a lady of long eſtabliſhed intereſt, together with the clergy and women, were inclined to the French: the magiſtrates were of king Charles's party. A few days before this, two battalions were come thither from England: Paſcal refuſed to ſurrender, and ſaid, "he would, to his beſt "ability, behave as becomes a man of honour and fidelity." Thus lieutenant-general Paſcal, well ſupported by the Dutch deputies, and encouraged by the citizens, prepared all things for the defence of the city.

The elector of Bavaria, making a vigorous attack, penetrated as far as the breaſt-work before the wall; and then threatened to force his way into the city. One Brown, a Scotſman, commander of a ſquadron of Saxons, fighting gallantly, drove the foremoſt of the enemy off the wall. The lord Mark Kerr, a noble Scotſman, who was there only by accident, came ſometimes into the works, and ſometimes to the aſſemblies, and gave encouragement as well to the ſoldiers as to the ladies.

When the elector of Bavaria heard that the duke of Marlborough had paſſed the Scheldt, thinking it not proper to expoſe his men to danger, when the duke was within two days march, and had a fair road into Brabant, deſired leave of him to bury his dead: under pretence of which he prepared himſelf to fly by night; and with great ſilence, not ſo much as with ſound of trumpet, made off that night; his men being ſtruck with a dreadful conſternation, leaving behind

him all his artillery, with a great quantity of proviſions, and all his wounded men, and retiring to Mons. After he had ſuffered this loſs, he wrote to the French king, complaining that his commanders had not been ſufficiently watchful, and reflecting upon thoſe who were entruſted with the guard of the river Scheldt, for not having ſtopped the confederates at their firſt approach.

THE duke of Marlborough, on his arrival, was received with the utmoſt affection by the citizens of Bruſſels. On the 29th day of November he reſolved to recover Ghent, highly applauded the valour of the ſoldiers, as well as the affection and fidelity of the citizens, and recommended lieutenant-general Paſcal to the emperor.

WHEN prince Eugene returned to the ſiege of the citadel of Lille, count Lottum was alſo ſent thither with ſixteen ſquadrons. Theſe pitched their tents on the hills of Oudenard, on this ſide the Scheldt. Lieutenant-general Dedem was ſent to the other ſide of the river, with twenty ſquadrons, to cover the workmen: and the baron van Hompeſch, with a ſelect body of troops, was poſted in the midway, near Menin, ſo that he might eaſily come to the aſſiſtance of prince Eugene, or the duke of Marlborough, in caſe either of them ſhould happen to be preſſed.

PRINCE EUGENE loſt no time after his return to Liſle; but, having extended his works on the right, to the outer part of the fortifications, made an aſſault, and making himſelf maſter of this, advanced to the inner. Then he took care to draw off the waters, and to prepare faſcines and faggots, and drew up his men to the attack. After this, he made an offer of honourable terms to the governor, in caſe he would ſurrender; but declared withal, that if he did not immediately accept them, he muſt not afterwards expect any other than thoſe of priſoners of war. The governor, now reduced to great ſtraits, and being in want of powder, accepted the terms, and gave hoſtages: and, on the 10th of December, marſhal de Boufflers, with his garriſon, marched out of the citadel. Thus the beſt fortified city in the French dominions,

The citadel of Liſle taken.

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dominions, and which has by much the greateſt authority in Flanders, was reduced under the juriſdiction of the Dutch

Ghent beſieged,

In order the ſooner to clear the navigation of the Lys and the Scheldt, and to open a free paſſage to Liſle both by land and ſea, the winter now coming on apace, ſiege was immediately, on the 20th of December, laid to Ghent, a city of great note, as well on account of its own greatneſs, as for being the birth-place of the emperor Charles V. The fortifications were very defective; but the weak city was held with a ſtrong garriſon, of which count de la Motte was appointed governor. Monſieur Chamillard wrote letters to La Motte, ſignifying of how great importance it would be to the publie ſafety, that this city ſhould be reſolutely defended; and admoniſhing him of his duty to take the counſel of his general officers in every thing during the ſiege, and not to confide too much in his own judgment; adding, that nothing would be more acceptable to the king than to lengthen out the ſiege, and protract the time as much as poſſible.

On the 24th day of December the confederates, under the command of count Lottum, the lords North and Gray, and the prince of Wirtemberg, opened the trenches, and began to attack the city. On the 25th the prince of Wirtemberg completed the works againſt the city. Brigadier-general Evans, who was poſted between the two rivers when the enemy made a ſally, fell upon them: but ſeeing the firſt line of his own troops giving way, and endeavouring to bring up freſh troops to ſupport them, he was intercepted by the beſieged, and carried into the city. At laſt, when the works were perfected, and the parallel lines and angles drawn, the cannon and mortars were brought up: which, when the workmen had planted againſt the walls, the confederates ſummoned La Motte again to ſurrender; unleſs he thought fit rather to do himſelf honour, than to accept of ſafety and honourable terms from them. The count de la Motte having obeyed
and taken. the ſummons, and given hoſtages, a capitulation was agreed upon between them on honourable terms, on the 30th day of December.

After

AFTER the count de la Motte, with thirty battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons, had marched out of Ghent, towards Tournay, the duke of Argyle, with a garriſon of ſix ſquadrons, took poſſeſſion of both the city and citadel.

BEFORE Ghent was reduced, the French eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that the confederates were hardly yet poſſeſſed of Liſle; which city they did not deſpair of recovering in the winter, ſince, beſides the ſcarcity of every thing, the fortifications which had been demoliſhed, were ſtill in ruins, and could not be repaired, as they concluded, before the ſpring at the ſooneſt. And, further, as all the country round about it was quite exhauſted, the garriſon, as well as the citizens, would ſuffer all the ſeverities of the winter, when the water of the rivers and ditches would be frozen up with the cold. But now, as it commonly happens to men whoſe hopes are fruſtrated, the French blamed themſelves in many things; and nothing ſeemed to them more ſhameful than the management of their own forces in Flanders. It was commonly ſaid, that in France the counſels of the generals were ſuperannuated, and the courage of the ſoldiers enervated at one and the ſame time; as if it were a wonder that the ſtrength of both the body and mind ſhould be weakened by the ſame cauſes in men who laboured under a great famine, and whoſe country was reduced to barrenneſs; for the winter was very ſharp, and very little ſtore of proviſions laid in for it.

THE ſiege of Liſle was attended with various diſaſters, but was yet brought to a proſperous iſſue, as if fortune herſelf had been under command. And it was ennobled by the coming of Auguſtus king of Poland, and the preſence of the prince of Hanover, who encouraged the ſoldiers in the trenches, and expoſed himſelf to all dangers in the works.

WHEN the news of this ſucceſs was brought into England by Sir Richard Temple, whoſe courage well merited a reward, the whole city was filled, as uſual, with great rejoicings. And for the better

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better remembrance of this ſucceſs, a medal was ſtruck with this inſcription:

INSUL. CAPT. MDCCVIII

THE French, who were left in garriſon at Bruges, Plaſſendael, and Lavengen, not thinking themſelves ſafe there, quitted thoſe places, and retreated into their own confines; for theſe towns were very weak, and remote from their other ſtrong-holds.

ALL Flanders being now freed, and winter come on, the confederates returned into winter-quarters. At this time, the cold was ſo intenſe, that, in the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, the rivers and dikes were frozen ſo hard, as to bear loaded waggons. The citizens of Ghent laid the blame of their defection upon the mob, and begged of the duke of Marlborough to impute the crime to their folly, and to pardon their fault.

IN Italy, the duke of Savoy, promiſing to do great things, demanded, in the firſt place, to have his ſubſidy paid him by the Engliſh and the Dutch, before he would quit his winter-quarters. This, with other circumſtances, retarded the preparations of the Engliſh, who had not yet forgot his former pacification, nor his laſt year's expedition. The common ſuſpicions were alſo much encreaſed, by a rumour that prince Eugene had refuſed to engage himſelf for his fidelity and conduct this year. Yet, nevertheleſs, the duke made great preparations for war, and wrote that he wanted nothing but money to draw out his forces, and march into Savoy. This was alſo confirmed by the Engliſh ambaſſador at his court in many letters; and that he had prepared mules, pack-horſes, and ſuch other things as are of uſe for war in thoſe places. And he alſo, according to his own weak judgment, and the ſmall experience he had as yet acquired, declared that he himſelf would be reſponſible for the zeal and fidelity of the duke of Savoy; nay, and for the immediate performance of his promiſe, which, on the part of the ambaſſador, was a declaration quite unneceſſary

unneceſſary and foreign to his province. But this engagement, ſince he was not able to make it good, ſhould have been made, according to the obſervation of the earl of Godolphin, at the riſk, not of his fortune, but of his head.

THE duke of Savoy, using his wonted diligence, obtained the greateſt part of his ſubſidy. And, when he had got the money in his hands, then the unſeaſonable weather, a deep ſnow on the mountains, ſickneſs, and many other things, delayed him till the month of Auguſt; at which time the French thought he would hardly have paſſed the mountains. The duke, having deluded the French as well as the confederates, led his forces over the mountains, taking Suſa, a town which would be a great relief to his men in caſe of any diſaſter. When he had paſſed the mountains, he marched with great celerity along the river Iſer towards Montmelian. Marſhal de Villars made long marches before him. The duke of Savoy took poſſeſſion of Chamberry, and cut off ſome of Villars's troops with great bravery, putting the reſt to flight. He filled the citizens of Lyons with great conſternation. He made great depredations, a long time, upon the inhabitants along the Rhoſne; and raiſed contributions of money, horſes, and corn upon all his own country, as well as in the confines of the enemy. After this, though he had been long expected by the Germans on the Upper Rhine, who waited for him to make an irruption with their united forces into France, he continued in his camp.

AFTER he had raiſed vaſt ſums of money in all the towns round about him, he exacted from his receivers three years arrear of money due to him from his own country, and likewiſe received of them a loan for the next year, of more than was commonly raiſed by the taxes; he now, at laſt, made a puſh, as if he would have paſſed into the inner parts of France, but ſuddenly wheeled about, and turned to Feneſtrelles and Exilles. Theſe towns belonging to the Valois, had many years ago been taken from the duke of Savoy by the French. But now the duke took this opportunity to recover them, in order thereby to ſtrengthen his frontiers againſt the incurſions of the French.

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THIS affair gave great diſguſt to the confederates, who plainly perceived that he was more intent upon his own private intereſt than that of the common cauſe. But yet the duke of Savoy had ſomething to ſay for himſelf, why he had not made an irruption into France, as had before been agreed upon. This he imputed to the raſhneſs of count Merci; others aſcribed it to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion of the crown of England, no leſs than to the raſhneſs of that count. When the two towns above mentioned were taken, he repaſſed the mountains with his army into Italy.

War with the pope.

AFTER the duke of Savoy had brought back his army, he ordered the Germans, as ſoon as the troops ſeparated, to march into the heart of Italy. Theſe being appointed to winter-quarters in the Mantuan and Milaneze, paſſed the Po in great numbers, and entered the territories of Placentia, intending to winter there. When this was known at Rome, the pope was highly offended; who would have had Placentia ſpared, as being a fief of the holy ſee. But his endeavours for this end were all in vain. For the Germans not only took up their winter-quarters there, but alſo committed hoſtilities in the Ferrareſe, according to the orders ſent them by the emperor Joſeph, who had ſought an occaſion of revenge.

WHEN the cruelties of the Germans were reported to the pope, he ſtormed, and threatened, and excommunicated the emperor's ſoldiers. He alſo commanded his troops to repel force by force; and ſome of the imperialiſts, who went out to plunder in the Ferrareze. were roughly treated and ſlain by the pope's country troops.

IN order to revenge this injury, as well as ſome other old enmities, the emperor commanded his forces to over-run all the pope's territories round about Ravenna. When the flames of war were now kindled, a great number of the imperialiſts paſſing the Po, poured themſelves into the territories of Ferrara, Bologna, and Ancona; and marching along the Flaminian road, deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword, and fell cruelly upon the pope's ſoldiers in thoſe countries. Theſe were followed by a rabble of barbarous German women; who being born in the camp, and ſuckled, as it were, with human blood,

ſpare

ſpare nothing ſacred or prophane, holding the pope's interdict as nothing. Theſe, on a march, ſerve, as we have before obſerved, for pack-horſes; in the camp they attend the ſick and wounded; in the winter-quarters they plunder all before them, overturning whole houſes, and wherever they come, laying the fields waſte all around them. And the treaſures at Loretto themſelves narrowly eſcaped their plundering hands.

CARDINAL CASSONI, the pope's legate at Ferrara, acquainted the pope with the cruelty of the Germans. He complained heavily to the emperor of his troops, and declared, that, unleſs theſe evils were remedied, he would call for aſſiſtance both from God and man; and, at laſt, he gravely admoniſhed him, not to tarniſh the bloom of his age and the beginning of his reign with an action ſo ſcandalous and diſhonourable to the Chriſtian name. But the imperialiſts began to beſiege the pope's fortifications upon the Po; they took Commachio, and threatened to lay ſiege to Ferrara. The marquis de Prie, a Genoeſe, offered to interpoſe his good offices in this affair, and propoſed, by way of compoſition, that Commachio, being, as he ſaid, an ancient fief of the empire, ſhould remain in the emperor's hands. This was refuſed him by the pope, who diſpatching his legates far and near, levied ſoldiers in Swiſſerland, and made great preparations at Rome for war. He ſolicited aſſiſtance from the French king and the Venetians, as well as from king Philip. The French king ſent the marſhal de Theſſe to the pope to command his armies. The Venetians intreated him to remember that he was Chriſt's repreſentative on earth, and to turn his thoughts to matters of religion and peace. About this time, the marquis de Prie came to Rome; and alſo count Marſigli, who had lately been diſmiſſed the emperor's ſervice. When the command of the army was conferred upon this man, many ſuſpected what a campaign he would make of it.

IN the mean time the marſhal de Prie thwarted all the marſhal de Theſſe's counſels at Rome, and treated about a compoſition for his own advantage. The duke of Modena, who was attached to the emperor, and conſulted his own intereſt, purſued a ſimilar courſe of

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conduct. The controverſy about Commachio was reduced to writing, while preparations were making on both ſides for a bloody war. All this while new taxes were impoſed upon the people, according to their number. Money was alſo raiſed in proportion among all the religious orders, who were likewiſe numbered and regiſtered by the pope. And at laſt the pope Clement XI. took care to draw ten thouſand crowns of gold out of the ſacred treaſury of pope Sixtus V. which had been laid up in ſtore for the ſervice of the church in her greateſt diſtreſs: "For," ſaid he, "the ſacred treaſures dedicated to God are of "peculiar ſervice to the Roman affairs, and to our counſels." And ſuch great ſums were ſaid to have been ſquandered away, as had never been known in the memory of man, for the ſervice of the war.

THE marquis de Prie treated with the pope at Rome, about acknowledging king Charles, and the right of the fiefs, and the retaining Commachio; on which conditions he promiſed, that all other things ſhould be ſafe, the emperor appeaſed, and all injuries buried in oblivion. The pope ſent ſignior Alexander Aldobrandino to Parma to treat of a compoſition; who being well inſtructed in the terms of peace, brought the affair there to a quiet iſſue.

THE pope reſolutely refuſed to yield up Commachio to the emperor; as to other matters, he was willing to refer them to the colleges and men learned in the laws. Commachio is ſeated in a marſhy place, and chiefly famous for eels; by the fiſhery of which there was wont to be brought into the pope's exchequer a yearly revenue of a hundred thouſand crowns. It is alſo looked upon as a bulwark of Rome, and of the holy ſee. And therefore the pope's miniſters ſaid, "it ought, in all right, to be reſtored to the pope." But the emperor, thinking that town ſtood moſt conveniently for the ſecurity of his dominions, inſiſted to retain it by force of arms, thereby to reſtrain the Italians within the bounds of their allegiance and ſubjection, and to ſecure for himſelf a paſſage towards Naples by the Flaminian road.

THE

THE imperialiſts threatened every day to lay ſiege to Ferrara; and having ſeized all the paſſes, held it, as it were, blocked up. Thither was ſent the nephew of cardinal Imperiali, a young gentleman deſervedly honoured with the purple, to aſſiſt with his counſels the legate who was then taking all the pains he could on the frontiers.

AT Rome, there was now a great concourſe of ſoldiers from all countries, and a general conſternation among the citizens. All the ſacred relics of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the enſigns relating to the croſs, were brought out; the ſtandards and colours, the cannons and all ſorts of arms, were conſecrated in form. Count Marſigli was made general of the army, and marſhal de Theſſe rejected, whom the pope looked upon as a bloody man. When all things were thus prepared for war, a day was appointed for the march of the troops. At the time appointed, the pope gave them his bleſſing, and wiſhed them good ſucceſs. But he gave Marſigli, and the other commanders, in charge, to be ſparing of the blood of the enemy; though he himſelf had excommunicated the generals, the colonels, the captains, and even the common ſoldiers of the emperor's army. But the imperialiſts were hardened againſt all theſe things; eſpecially thoſe who had ſerved long in Hungary. The troops alſo which were in the kingdom of Naples, advanced as far as Fraſcati; but were commanded to ſtop there till farther orders. As the imperialiſts had a fair proſpect of the city, ſo they were in great hopes of ſharing among them the plunder. It was full of the ſpoils of all nations, and founded as it were in rapine. The citizens of Rome fearing, that when the enemy came, nothing could hinder them from plundering the city, bethought themſelves how they might beſt appeaſe the wrath of God. They frequented their churches and ſhrines, held up their hands to the images and heavens, and worſhipped all the ſaints.

BUT, now when it was commonly thought throughout the city, that their church, and all they had, was at the laſt extremity, the pope, with ſound of trumpet, and as it were by divine inſpiration, cauſed it to be proclaimed, that, by God's bleſſing, he had made up all differences, and concluded a peace with the emperor. And, after he had

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had ſprinkled the people with holy water, he forthwith gave orders, according to cuſtom, to ſet open all the churches in the city, that the people might have free liberty to make their proceſſions for viſiting the altars, and returning their thanks to God.

On the firſt intimation of this, the marſhal de Theſſe, then ſick in bed, endeavoured by letters to diſſuade the pope from concluding a peace. The pope made him no anſwer, but only gave him advice to take care of his health.

The pope agreed with the emperor on theſe terms; that he ſhould acknowledge king Charles, and ſend a legate to him, as he had before done to king Philip; that he ſhould diſband his forces; and that the right to the fiefs in diſpute, and every thing elſe, ſhould be deferred to another time.

When the marſhal de Crene was recovered of his ſickneſs, he addreſſed the pope in very harſh and reproachful terms, and expoſtulated with him about the unreaſonableneſs of what he had done; and why he had firſt acknowledged king Philip, and now king Charles, for king of Spain. In the court of Rome, accuſtomed to double dealings, there were ſome who excuſed what the pope had done by the plea of neceſſity; others inſiſted that his holineſs, in virtue of his own right, had recognized the one by the title of king of Spain, and the other as king of Naples. But de Theſſe, not ſatisfied with ſuch ſubtleties, deſired to know the truth of theſe things from the pope himſelf. The pope, who complied with the times, and was crafty enough in his diſcourſe, made him this anſwer: "Be not in "a paſſion: I do not apprehend that I have any way broke or vio-"lated my engagements with your king." De Theſſe, ſetting forth how well the French had deſerved of the church, complained of the wrong done to his king, and the deceit put upon him; and with what conſcience he had acknowledged two kings of Spain. "When "the French king," replied the pope, "ſhall let us know with "what conſcience he acknowledged both king James and the prince "of Orange for kings of England at one and the ſame time, and "after

" after the death of James II. acknowledged his ſon to be king alſo, " while the prince of Orange was ſtill alive, then I ſhall alſo give a " reaſon for what I have done." Away therefore, ſaid he, with ſuch " arguments: it is our province to govern this city, and to provide " for the common ſafety of the chriſtian world, after the example of " other popes; and why do ye take ſo heinouſly ill of others what ye " yourſelves do every day?"

THE marſhal de Theſſe had not a word to reply, more than this, " that ſuch is the frailty of human nature, that all men are liable to " errors; but that it was unbecoming a pope to ſet ſuch examples to " other men." He wrote alſo to the French king, " that the pope " was a priſoner and ſlave to the emperor:" however, he ſtill upbraided him with the great ſervices of France to the holy ſee, and poured out threatenings and curſes againſt the pope. All this the pope heard with ſilence and tears; and gave de Theſſe his bleſſing with tears in his eyes: but he ſtill perſiſted in his inclination to the emperor.

THE differences being thus adjuſted, the imperialiſts returned into their own confines, ſome towards the Po, and others into the kingdom of Naples. Nevertheleſs, the taxes impoſed upon the clergy and people, continued the ſame as in time of war: for which the pope made uſe of this pretence, to return the money taken out of pope Sixtus V. treaſury; which, it is ſaid, his holineſs was far from intending to do: for he was thought to have had his own intereſt at heart above all conſiderations whatever.

WHEN the pope's treaty was known at Madrid, it was grievouſly reſented by king Philip; who not only forbad his nuncio the court, but alſo baniſhed him the kingdom: the pope's court was ſuppreſſed in Spain; and the accounts and books of rates, the tenths and fifths, and all the papal profits in thoſe parts were ſequeſtered. But, leſt the Spaniards, who are ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to their religion, ſhould think chriſtianity itſelf was thereby brought into danger, king Philip

ſtill

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ſtill profeſſed himſelf a moſt dutiful ſon of the church, and that he would uniformly continue in obedience and fidelity to his holineſs, whenever he ſhould free himſelf from the German yoke. Neither could the French king revenge theſe injuries, while he was ſo hardly preſſed by the arms of the confederates, and therefore he delayed to ſhew his reſentment thereof till another time.

In the mean time the pope, who uſed on all occaſions to conſult the Jeſuits, endeavoured to appeaſe the French king's indignation by vows, and all other means whatſoever. The Jeſuits therefore eaſily perſuaded the old king, that the minds of his ſubjects were ſadly depraved by falſe doctrines, and the reading of the holy ſcriptures, and thereby ſeduced from their allegiance in this declining ſtate of France. They therefore thought it high time to redreſs theſe religious grievances, and perſuaded the king, by the pope's authority, to eſtabliſh in his kingdom a new ſyſtem of ſacred inſtitutes, which was drawn up by them.

Conſtitution Unigenitus.

This edict, or interdict rather of the holy ſcriptures, offended many people of all ranks, eſpecially the doctors of the Sorbonne, who oppoſed it with the greateſt zeal. The pope ſeemed a long time to reſiſt this innovation: but the king, who had ſet his heart upon it, ſolicited to have this edict confirmed by the pope's authority; after which, he ſaid, he would forgive his holineſs all paſt injuries. Nothing could poſſibly happen more acceptable to the pope than this, whereby he would be able to eſtabliſh his authority in France. The cardinal Noailles, and the parliament of Paris, obſerving what paſſed, oppoſed both the king and the pope, and proteſted againſt it; for which many were baniſhed the kingdom, and others deprived of their benefices. This affair of the conſtitution Unigenitus, as it was called, was the occaſion of a long and ſharp controverſy in France. The point was argued and debated, as if all the ancient rights of the Gallican church had thereby been aboliſhed and deſtroyed: however, the pope now laid aſide all reſentments, and became thoroughly reconciled to the king.

Thus

THUS have I briefly contracted what I had to ſay of the pope's war. If any thing relating to it ſeems to be obſcure, let the Italians or French explain it more at large. For all the confederates, except the emperor, were utterly averſe to it; nay, the admiral of the confederate fleet, though earneſtly preſſed to it by the marquis de Prie, the emperor's ambaſſador, utterly refuſed to make a deſcent at Civita Vecchia and Cape d'Anzo. But the pope was ſo far deluded as to aſcribe this forbearance of the ſailors to the merits and moderation of the marquis de Prie, and to derogate greatly from the due praiſes of the Engliſh and Dutch.

SOME are of opinion that this war in Italy was raiſed for no other reaſon, than merely to give the pope a more plauſible pretence for making his peace with the emperor; and that each of them might impoſe new taxes upon his ſubjects, of which no abatement is made to this day.

BY the peace now made, as the pope was thought to have extricated himſelf out of a great difficulty, ſo the marquis de Prie was ſuppoſed to have conſulted his own private intereſt. The emperor retained Commachio, in right of the compromiſe, and as a fief, and by many other arguments, but, in ſhort, by force of a ſtrong garriſon.

SIGNIOR JUSTO FONTANINI defended the pope's rights in Italy. Fontanini was a man long and very much converſant in records and monuments of antiquity, of great eloquence and unqueſtionable probity: by producing the charters of emperors, and other teſtimonies, he proved that Commachio had been the pope's right for a thouſand years paſt. A certain Modeneze, who took extraordinary liberties with his pen in Italy, fell ſeverely upon the pope's title: he inſiſted ſtrenuouſly, that no grants of former emperors could invalidate the preſent emperor's right; and that no length of time could proſcribe the right of his imperial majeſty. And, laſt of all, he inſinuated, that, according to the holy ſcriptures, neither popes nor prieſts had any authority to enjoy lands; which the court of Rome,

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and the clergy of all nations, look upon as one of the moſt hateful and unpardonable of all hereſies. This winter * the port of the city of Venice was frozen up ſo hard, as to cauſe a very great dearth there.

As the common cauſe of the confederates had ſuffered very much by the death of the king of Portugal, and the unfortunate battle of Almanza, the emperor and the queen of England, in order to reſtore matters there, and to ſupport the new king of Portugal, reſolved to ſend forces thither; and that the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas being recalled to Portugal from the army in Spain, count Staremberg ſhould be diſpatched thither, to take upon him the command of the army in Spain, and to aſſiſt king Charles with his counſels. The war in Spain had been little regarded on either hand, unleſs the queen of England and the French king had ſent freſh troops to the ſuccour of the reſpective kings. King Charles levied ſix thouſand Catalans, queen Anne ſent thither eight thouſand Palatines, and the emperor two battalions: the Dutch excuſed themſelves, and diſſuaded the confederates from making any farther efforts in Spain, after the unfortunate battle of Almanza.

THE duke of Orleans, who laboured under many difficulties, but who confided in the magnificent promiſes of the French king, took upon him the command of the army for king Philip, and laid ſiege to Tortoſa. The beſieged, being four thouſand in number, made a vigorous defence; but at length, being overpowered by a ſuperior force, they capitulated with the duke of Orleans, and ſurrendered the city on honourable terms. From thence the duke of Orleans advanced to Agremont, where he was firſt met by count Staremberg, who made a ſhew, as if he would have ventured a battle. There the enemy made a long ſtand: but at laſt, finding themſelves deceived, they furiouſly ravaged all the neighbouring country round about. From thence Orleans led back his army acroſs the river, not far from Balaguer; after which he ordered ſeven regiments to move into

* The winter that began in 1708, and was continued through the firſt months of 1709; or, according to a mode of making dates then uſual, and now not exploded, in the winter 1708-9.

Valentia, and ſent the reſt into winter-quarters. As ſoon as ſix regiments arrived in count d'Aſfeldt's camp, he took Denia; and then proceeded to Alicant, which he alſo took in a few days after. Major-general Richards, governor of the caſtle, defended it yet many months; but at laſt, the rock on which it ſtood being blown up by the unhappy ſpringing of a mine, and the ſpring which ſupplied them with freſh water dried up with the ſhock, the beſieged ſurrendered themſelves at the very time when major-general Stanhope was come on board the fleet to relieve them.

About the ſame time a very nice and difficult diſpute aroſe between the duke of Orleans and king Philip: for the king, fearing leſt the duke ſhould have a deſign upon the crown, wrote to his grandfather, adviſing him to look well to himſelf, leſt the duke ſhould do more hurt than good to the kingdom; and that he entertained an ambition of ſovereignty. The duke was therefore recalled from the command of the army: his ſecretary was ſeized and examined. What diſcoveries were made, either were of no conſequence, or elſe the French thought fit to conceal them.

This winter count Staremberg attempted to ſurpriſe Tortoſa, but in vain. In the camp, major-general Stanhope concluded the treaty of commerce for the Engliſh in the Indies; which when diſcovered by the Dutch, filled them with ſuſpicions and reſentment.

Though the whole plan of the war which had been formed in the conference at Hanover, was now altered, by reaſon of the alteration of the meaſures in France, and the ſudden march of prince Eugene to Flanders, with a larger body of troops detached from the Rhine than had been agreed on; yet the elector of Hanover, more concerned for the public ſervice than his own glory, ſet out with a few troops towards the Upper Rhine, for the defence of that river. On his arrival there, he found the Germans ſtill in their winter-quarters, and in want of all neceſſaries; and he earneſtly ſolicited the Circles to get all things in readineſs for carrying on the war. Hanoverian campaign on the Rhine.

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As ſoon as the army were drawn out of their winter-quarters, he thought the Rhine was more likely to be defended by the convenient ſituation of the place, than by his ſmall number of troops. When he had perſevered in this conduct a long time, contrary to the expectation of all men, hearing that the French were about to paſs the river on the confines of Swiſſerland, he ſent count Merci thither with a ſelect body of troops, to ſtop their paſſage; and commanded him not to march farther than that he might be able to come to his aſſiſtance, in caſe of any ſudden accident. But the count, elated with his natural alacrity and the confidence of former ſucceſſes, did not obſerve his orders; but paſſing the Rhine, and hoping to gather the laurels of victory before the reſt came up, he raſhly adventured into Alſace, where he fell into an ambuſcade of the enemy: nor was he aware of this before they had intercepted his march on every ſide, and left him no room to retreat. At length, while he endeavoured to recover the bridge, there was a very ſharp fight: count Merci was driven back to the Rhine, with the loſs of his followers; and he very narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the enemy, and thereby ſuffering for his raſhneſs.

The elector of Hanover took care to revenge the diſhonour done to count Merci, by driving back from the Rhine the enemy's troops, which were advancing to plunder Germany; and he thought it ſatiſfaction enough for the preſent, to reſtrain the French from rapine and deſolation. After he had long waited for the duke of Savoy in that neighbourhood, in order to make an irruption into France, and was informed that he had returned back, he alſo led back his army ſafe, which was ſickly: and the weather now becoming ſo very unſeaſonable that no attempt could be made, he poſted his troops in the lines and winter-quarters, after he had firſt provided for the ſafety of Germany.

Mr. Henry Worsley, the Engliſh envoy extraordinay to king Charles, was undeſervedly recalled, for no other reaſon than certain differences between the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Rivers. Mr. Stanhope was ſent to ſucceed him, on whom alſo devolved

volved the ſupreme command of all the forces in thoſe parts. Earl Rivers was next in rank to the duke of Marlborough; but, while he thought himſelf his equal, others looked upon him as indeed far ſhort of being his ſecond. Mr. Worſley, though much diſguſted, gave place to general Stanhope, who went to Spain not a little proud of his honour: when he came there, he promiſed to recover king Charles's affairs from the low ſtate to which they had been reduced by the battle of Almanza.

Reduction of Minorca.

STANHOPE prepared for an expedition to Minorca; and carried it on with ſuch ſilence, that the garriſon were not aware of his intention till he had actually arrived. As ſoon as he came thither, he ran his ſhips into port, and landed his ſoldiers. After this, he preſently took the port of Mahon, without much difficulty; and in a ſhort time reduced the whole iſland of Minorca, like another Metellus Balearicus, to the obedience of king Charles III. with the loſs of his own brother, and a few of his ſoldiers. And at laſt Majorca alſo was brought under the ſame ſubjection: and ſoon after Sardinia alſo; which, ſince the taking of Calari, has remained in the ſame allegiance. This ſucceſs of lieutenant-general Stanhope was handed down to the remembrance of poſterity, by a medal with this inſcription:

SARDINIA ET BALEARIS MINOR CAPTÆ MDCCVIII.

THIS expedition of lieutenant-general Stanhope to Minorca, and his ſucceſs therein, but ſtill more his liberality, and his bountiful diſpoſal of the public money, recommended him highly to the favour of king Charles. That envoy, it is ſaid, not only adminiſtered to the wants of the king himſelf, but alſo to thoſe of his needy favourites. Complaints were alſo made of him in England, on account of bad money, by which both the ſoldiers and merchants were greatly defrauded. Lieutenant-general Stanhope excuſed himſelf, both by the neceſſity of the times, and the authority of king Charles, for the coinage of money: he made large promiſes, according to his cuſtom, for the time to come, but redreſſed nothing for the preſent.

GREAT complaints were made in the parliament of England of the expences of the Spaniſh expeditions: the miniſtry therefore thought fit

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fit to tranſport ſoldiers and military ſtores to Spain from the coaſt of Genoa. This was entruſted to the management of the envoy: he made uſe of a French merchant; upon which he was grievouſly complained of to the miniſtry and parliament, as if thereby the counſels of the confederates had been betrayed to the French king, and the public would now be more defrauded than ever. Mr. Scudamore, the Britiſh conſul, complained of theſe things, and laid the whole caſe before the lord high treaſurer. But the earl of Godolphin deferred the enquiry into that matter till another time; for frauds had then many favourers: however, he did not approve the envoy's reaſons for his conduct, though he had tranſmitted to him the money for the ſervice of the war.

The earl of Manchester having performed an embaſſy to the emperor, the duke of Savoy was ordered to proceed to the republic of Venice. There he made his public entry, and was received by the ſenate with the higheſt marks of honour. After he had lived there many months in great ſplendour, he demanded ſatisfaction of the republic for a breach of the law of nations, in the violation of the privileges of an ambaſſador, by their tax-gatherers, who had ſeized one of his watermen, whom they had detected in the very act of embezzling the public money. But this being contrary to the law of nations, was highly reſented by the earl of Mancheſter, who alſo complained thereof by letters to the queen. One Robert Brown, who was found to be the author of this inſult, was ſeverely fined; and if the earl of Mancheſter had not interceded for him, he had been baniſhed the city with a brand of infamy. But this complaint happened to be made at a very unſeaſonable time here; for, but a little while before this, a much greater inſult againſt the law of nations was offered to the Muſcovite ambaſſador at London, by a petty merchant, who had inſolently, and with great violence, taken that ambaſſador into cuſtody. The queen's miniſters, therefore, who were at that very time labouring hard to make up that matter with the Muſcovite, wrote back to the earl of Mancheſter, to deal gently with the Venetians at that critical juncture; leſt they ſhould ſeem to demand ſuch ſatisfaction from others, as they refuſed to give in their own caſe.

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THEY therefore came to reaſonable terms in both caſes. When the earl of Mancheſter had received ſatisfaction of the republic of Venice, he ſoon after took his leave, and returned home. At London a new law was now made, to prevent any ſuch like affront to ambaſſadors for the future: and therefore the czar of Muſcovy, who was not a ſtranger to the licentiouſneſs of the people of England, forgave the queen, at her requeſt, the affront done to his ambaſſador. About the ſame time the king of Denmark arriving at Venice, was received there with great honours, and entertained with balls and banquets in a very grand ſtyle.

THE Dutch, highly elated with the ſucceſs of the war, and now freed from all fear of the French, earneſtly inſiſted upon the immediate ſurrender of the fortified towns, formerly promiſed them in the name of a barrier. But ſome of them conſulted privately together, how a negociation might be ſet on foot for a general peace. The emperor's ambaſſador openly oppoſed both theſe ſchemes: and the duke of Marlborough was alſo ſuſpected to have underhand intereſted himſelf in the ſame cauſe. However, he promiſed them to exert himſelf ſo effectually with the queen, that thoſe fortifications ſhould be delivered into their hands: but he earneſtly exhorted them by all the intereſt he had in them, not to hearken in the mean time to the French propoſals of peace; nor to ſuffer the raſhneſs of other people to prejudice the commonwealth: for he denied that the French king was ſeriouſly inclined to peace; and inſiſted, that he only endeavoured by conferences to put off the preparations for war, ſo that the force of the confederates might be worn out and weakened. But ſome of them, who were in expectation of great things from the French king, ſuffered themſelves to be led by other reaſonings; and thinking that there could be no harm in holding a conference, and hearing what terms the French king had to propoſe, perſiſted ſtill in the ſame opinion.

THOUGH the penſionary Heinſius, monſieur Fagel, and many other men of great experience in ſtate affairs, well acquainted alſo with the French arts, were againſt it, yet monſieur Buys held a conference, in order to the making of a peace, as if he had been aſſured he ſhould gain

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gain all he demanded of the French king; not knowing, perhaps, that the French have always one way of promiſing, and another quite different way of performing. He deſired to know their demands; and promiſed to take care that the republic ſhould receive no damage by that conference. Monſieur Slingerland ſaid, "He knew very "well, that the French king chiefly aimed at, and would moſt earneſtly contend for, a truce." The penſionary Heinſius ſaid, "It "was, and always had been, his chief deſire, that the war ſhould ceaſe, "and a ſtop be put to arms; but now to grant the favour of a truce "to the enemy, would be nothing leſs than to give occaſion for a new "war againſt their own friends." Wherefore he thought it principally neceſſary that the French king ſhould be informed, that the lords the ſtates-general would conſider well what they had to demand, before they gave their deputies any inſtructions: and for this purpoſe they thought it adviſable to diſpatch monſieur Pettecum to France. It is certain the more prudent were afraid, leſt the name of peace, and the artful terms of it, ſhould abate the zeal of the people for the recovery of their liberty.

THE duke of Marlborough returned to England; and having left all affairs in good order in the camp abroad, applied himſelf to the counſels of peace as well as war at home.

Prince George of Denmark's death.

ON the 28th day of October 1708, the prince of Denmark, her majeſty's royal conſort, died, greatly lamented by all good men. His royal highneſs had for many years been afflicted with an aſthma; and about three months before his death a dropſical humour had ſeized his legs, and other parts of his body, attended with a violent cough and ſpitting of blood. During the whole of his illneſs the ſympathizing and ſorrowful queen attended and aſſiſted, and ſoothed him by every tender office, in the moſt affectionate manner. The earl of Wharton was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland: upon which the duke of Shrewſbury, now firſt diſguſted at the whigs, entered into concert with Mr. Harley, and went over to the tory-party in the parliament. The like alſo did the duke of Hamilton, becauſe the duke of Queenſberry was made her majeſty's third ſecretary of ſtate, by the unlucky advice of the lord high treaſurer. The lord Sommers was made lord preſident

Changes in the miniſtry.

of her majeſty's privy council, with the great approbation of all men: the earl of Pembroke was made lord high admiral of Great Britain: Mr. Walpole was made ſecretary of war, in the place of Mr. St. John. Walpole was certainly a young man of ſuch a genius that wherever he had been born he ſeemed capable of making his fortune. Mr. Henry Boyle was made ſecretary of ſtate, and ſucceeded by Mr. John Smith, in his place in the exchequer. Inſtead of Smith, Sir Richard Onſlow was unanimouſly choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; as Dr. Aldridge was choſen prolocutor of the lower houſe of convocation. Though all theſe were men of eminent parts and probity, and of diſtinguiſhed merit, yet there was at that time ſuch a multitude of men in England, who thought well of themſelves, and ſuch an emulation of others, as ſoon created an agreement among themſelves for the purpoſe of removing others from their places. Some have affirmed that a foundation for a peace was laid this year by ſome of the heads of this faction, utterly unknown to the reſt. As theſe were inclined to thoughts of peace through envy, ſo were others blinded by the greatneſs of their fortune to prolong the war. This faction was made up of men of all conditions. The inferior clergy were inflamed with the deſire of dignities and biſhoprics. Some of the tories were addicted to the Pretender; and others only to their own intereſt: the whigs ſtudied the public good, and would have had every thing managed fairly and juſtly: and therefore when thoſe who were really whigs, ſolicited for employments, they were either very ſeldom admitted by the lord Godolphin, or elſe utterly rejected by him: for none was acceptable to him, who did not vote according to his will and direction, and become ſubſervient to him, according to the humour of the times, more than the laws of the land. Add to all this, that it was a true and old common opinion concerning him, that he had from his youth been averſe to the whigs in the reigns of the late king Charles and king James; whereas Mr. Harley, from his youth, had been bred up by whig parents: and while the lord Godolphin ſeemed to take part with the whigs, the tories invented the diſtinguiſhing terms of old whigs and modern whigs, which were firſt made uſe of by Dr. d'Avenant, in hopes thereby to draw over ſome of the whigs to their party. At this time, when the old whigs perceived that they had no ſhare of

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emoluments with the modern, but were hated by Godolphin, they often oppoſed him in the parliament, and would not bear a brand of infamy for ſupporting the dignity of other men. Yet, nevertheleſs, they were not poſſeſſed with an inconſiderate deſire of peace. Sir Peter King, and Sir Joſeph Jekyl, Mr. Edward Wortley, and Mr. Hampden, and other members of parliament, diſtinguiſhed by their families or perſonal merit, and of great intereſt in the houſe of commons, often voted againſt the court party. Dr. Atterbury was angry with Dr. Aldridge for not inſiſting more ſtrongly on the imminent danger of the churcl

THE country gentlemen were grievouſly preſſed with the burthen of the war, which had continued ſo many years, and grew ſtill heavier every year; and all England cried out for peace. The more averſe the queen grew to the dutcheſs of Marlborough, ſo much the more deſirous ſhe was in her own mind to put an end to the war. The duke of Marlborough was alſo commonly ſuſpected, but falſely, of an ambition to raiſe himſelf to extraordinary honour, and a deſire to render the military ſervice in England ſtill more profitable, and to make the war perpetual. It was to be feared, it was alleged, leſt every future victory ſhould be attended with bitter lamentations. To this alſo we may add the death of the prince of Denmark; who having had little favour for the Pretender, and been thoroughly acquainted with the queen's moſt ſecret thoughts, very much promoted the intereſt of the confederates with her majeſty, and moderated the averſion ſhe had long conceived againſt the dutcheſs of Marlborough.

THE queen being now a widow, was ſo oppreſſed with fears, and ſo overwhelmed with grief for the loſs of her deceaſed conſort, that ſhe avoided the converſation of her neareſt friends, and ſcarcely could endure the light. The two houſes of parliament preſented an humble addreſs to her majeſty, that ſhe would not indulge her juſt grief ſo much as to decline the thoughts of a ſecond marriage; in which they profeſſed, that all their hopes of future happineſs did conſiſt: but ſhe continued an inconſolable mourner for her late huſband, and her grief

grief ſeemed incapable of all conſolation. At length, as ſhe had been inſtructed, ſhe declared herſelf weary of the war, and tired of ſo many victories. She urged to her nobles many arguments for laying down their arms, and heartily wiſhed for peace. But what ſhe pretended to do for the eaſe of her ſubjects, originated in her averſion to the dutcheſs of Marlborough: for revenge has great influence over women, eſpecially when they ſeem inclined to ſpend their days in ſolitude and widowhood.

MEAN while a queſtion was propoſed in the parliament about abrogating the laws of Scotland relating to high treaſon. The occaſion of this queſtion was a controverſy ſtarted laſt year in Scotland between the jury and the judges, and the impunity of guilty perſons, which we have mentioned before. The courtiers therefore would have had both the Scots and Engliſh bound by the ſame laws of high treaſon: "for," ſaid they, "a difference of the laws muſt neceſſarily "continue a diſſimilitude of nations." The Scots reſted their cauſe upon the contracts, and the laws for the union of the two kingdoms; which they inſiſted could not be ſubjected to the authority of the parliament, without a breach of the union, and a violation of the public faith given to the Scots. Moſt of the Engliſh were of opinion that every thing was ſubject to the authority of parliament, and therefore that the law of nations ought to give place to civil conſtitutions. Sir John Hawles, an Engliſhman, of great reputation for the gravity of his deportment, and his ſkill in the law, thought it very hard that the Scots ſhould be made ſubject to the Engliſh laws; and urged that the Engliſh could not with good faith oblige them to ſubmit to them. Nay, having compared the laws of both kingdoms, he preferred the laws of Scotland concerning high treaſon, before thoſe of England; and therefore he propoſed, that there ought either to be one new body of law compiled out of thoſe of both kingdoms, or elſe that each of them ſhould keep their own. Sir David Dalrymple, one of the moſt eminent lawyers, having made a learned ſpeech two hours long, in the houſe of commons, concerning the laws of Scotland, full of many caſes collected out of the grounds of the laws and ancient hiſtories, a certain member thought fit to anſwer him in a few lines borrowed out

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of Hudibras, an Engliſh burleſque poem: which, though it gave occaſion for laughter, yet gave much offence to grave and learned men; who judged it very improper that a matter of high importance ſhould be talked of in parliament after a ludicrous manner; or that the famous conſtitutions of our anceſtors, and all the learning of antiquity, ſhould be ſlighted for the ſake of a ridiculous joke.

THE ſubſtance of all that was ſaid in the houſe of commons by the courtiers, may be comprehended under the word *equality*; and that they thought it unreaſonable, that thoſe who are detected of the ſame crime, or tried on the ſame ſuſpicion of treaſon, ſhould not undergo the ſame puniſhment, according to the ſame law: as if, forſooth, there were not the ſame juſtice done in England and Scotland, in the like caſes of treaſon; or as if the perſon convicted of it in either place were not capitally puniſhed. Mr. George Baillie, and Mr. John Cockburn, and other Scotſmen, obſerving the Engliſh to adhere to that point, yielded it up to them; and deſired that the ſame puniſhment for the guilt of treaſon ſhould be inflicted both in England and Scotland, and that all people ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment without diſtinction: but they urged, that the privilege of being governed by their own laws, according to contract, and the ancient method of proceeding in their courts, ſhould ſtill be preſerved; and that the parliament ſhould not introduce any new forms of judiciary proceedings into that nation, leſt all Scotland ſhould be in confuſion at ſuch a ſudden abrogation of their laws. But neither could this be obtained of the Engliſh, who would have had the judicial proceedings to run in the ſame form in Scotland as they do in England. The Scots, therefore, had recourſe to the inſertion of clauſes, whereby the puniſhment of perſons convicted of treaſon in both kingdoms ſhould be moderated; and by this new law it was provided, that the eſtates of the convict ſhould not be confiſcated for any longer term than the natural life of the offender.

GREAT debates aroſe about this clauſe, and others which were offered to the parliament. Sir Peter King, Mr. Wortley, Mr. Hampden, and other aſſerters of liberty, adopted this opinion, and argued

ſtrenuouſly for the clauſes. Theſe were joined by the tories, and all the Scots to a man: and when the queſtion about inſerting the clauſes was put to the vote, the majority was found to be for inſerting them. Thus the act of repeal, with the clauſes annexed, paſſed the houſe of commons, and was ſent up to the lords.

THE more acceptable the act of repeal was to the creatures of the miniſtry at court, ſo much the more diſagreeable were the clauſes to them, whereby the exchequer, which is the food of hungry courtiers, was to be deprived of the forfeited eſtates of convicts. But now the ſweet and bitter being mixed, were both to be taken together, or both rejected. At that time the whigs, who were in favour at court, were under great difficulties: for many of the peers neither durſt expreſsly agree to the clauſes for fear of the miniſtry, nor yet reject the act; for they were reſtrained by a deſire to maintain their reputation with their friends. At length thoſe who were the hotteſt, grew ſomewhat more moderate: of all the reſt, the earl of Seafield was moſt a ſlave to the court; who, though he himſelf had before been principally concerned in eſtabliſhing the criminal laws in Scotland, now, in hopes of favour, endeavoured to get the ſame laws reverſed; and propoſed to have the act of repeal to take place immediately, but the clauſes not to be in force for a long time to come, or till after the queen's death. All theſe things were oppoſed by the dukes of Montroſe and Roxburgh. The duke of Argyle, whoſe eloquence neither revenge nor a troubled mind could abate, in an excellent ſpeech refuted the act of repeal, and all the ſaving clauſes thereunto annexed, on account of the hereditary juriſdictions which he held in Scotland. The lord Halifax, in a florid ſpeech, propoſed to the lords that the clauſes now inſerted ſhould not have the force of law ſo long as the Pretender was alive. His opinion was approved by the earl of Godolphin, who ſeemed only to be the lord Halifax's ſecond. The earl of Iſla, whoſe eloquence was of great reputation and authority in the parliament, explained very elegantly how much the rights of the chiefs, the lives and fortunes of all the Scots, the honour of the Engliſh, and the ſafety of both people, were concerned in the debates of that day; and how far the peace of the kingdom, and the union lately eſtabliſhed, were in danger by it; and

entreated

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entreated their lordſhips, if they had any concern for theſe things, or any regard for the calamities of their neighbours, or the reproaches which would be caſt upon the friends of the people of England by their adverſaries; not to paſs this law now before them; whereby, he ſaid, it would come to paſs, that the affections of all Scotland would be alienated from them, and nobody would believe that this law was made agreeably to the ſentiments of thoſe who had promoted the union of the two kingdoms.

To theſe arguments anſwer was made by the lords Sommers and Cowper, the two brighteſt luminaries of the law of England, that thoſe who have one common ſafety, muſt be liable to one common danger; and ſhewed, that this bill was well drawn up, and conſiſtent with the public faith, according to the union of the kingdoms: and therefore they inſiſted, that the condition of the Scots would not be made worſe, but even much better by this new form of new judicatures. Then ſetting forth the injuries of the late times in Scotland, to which all ſorts of men were cruelly expoſed by their own laws, they thought this law ought to paſs for the eaſe of the Scots.

To this the Scots replied, that thoſe ſad times having been reformed by their own laws, could never return again; and that they ought not to do all at once, and on a ſudden, what might be done better by degrees. But all this was overborn by the ſuperior numbers of the Engliſh. The lord viſcount Townſhend, who was more ſolicitous for the public tranquillity than for his own private rights, oppoſed this act of repeal: but all that could be ſaid was over-ruled by the ſpeeches of the lord treaſurer and lord chancellor: nor did the lords ſhew any regard what might be thought of it by the people of Scotland.

At laſt the act of repeal paſſed, with the qualifying clauſe propoſed by the lord Halifax: and the queen took the firſt opportunity to ratify it by the royal aſſent, though the Scots peers proteſted againſt it.

THESE having hitherto done their beſt ſervice to the whigs, and now perceiving how their good offices were requited, became highly incenſed againſt them, as men who are not to be obliged by any benefits: and therefore they did not think themſelves concerned to intermeddle any farther in thoſe diſputes and party feuds among the Engliſh, which were raiſed for the private profit of a few men, rather than for the good of the public. The only thing perhaps which prevented the Scots from joining with the tories, was their foreign views, and the affection which the tories were repreſented to have for the French king. Therefore, ſince the whigs were divided amongſt themſelves, and the old whigs had eſpouſed the cauſe of the Scots in the parliament, the Scots now joined with them, as being the neareſt to them both in their way of life, and the reſemblance of their manners.

THE Scots and old whigs, thus united, made no ſcruple to join with the tories, in obliging the miniſters of ſtate to give an account of the public money, and often reducing them to great difficulties, but with different intentions: nor did they puſh the matter ſo far as the tories did. The earl of Sunderland, ſon-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, notwithſtanding his being in offices at court, was always looked upon as a patron of the old whigs; and is ſaid to have alſo had many ſharp diſputes with the earl of Godolphin about places and the public adminiſtration: however, it is certain, he did not heſitate openly in parliament to differ from his father-in-law and the earl of Godolphin. Sunderland therefore ſo dealt with the old whigs, that in matters of great importance the whigs of both denominations, who agreed together among themſelves, were eaſily drawn into his meaſures. This was a dark affair, and of great advantage to the court: for the good opinion which all men had long entertained of the probity of the old whigs, inclined the country party to entertain more favourable ſentiments of the miniſters.

THE modern whigs had a bad character among the common people, being conſidered as men nouriſhed at the public expence for prolonging the war. Theſe were ſaid to weigh all things according to their

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their own profit and penſions, without any regard to the merits of any cauſe. The earl of Godolphin being aware of this, adviſed to reconcile the old whigs to them; and if any of thoſe, either by their common appellation, or any private views, ſhould operate in any meaſure as bars to ſuch a conjunction, he ſuppoſed they might be ſurmounted by the common danger, and a regard to the public good. But a ſudden change of fortune will ſoon diſcover how inconſtant is the fidelity of hirelings: for thoſe whom the lord Godolphin was lately wont to ſtyle obſtinate, unprofitable, and intractable, he found to be the only perſons worthy of credit and confidence.

Palatines brought over.

A GREAT number of miſerable people, as already mentioned, of all perſuaſions in religion, and in want of all neceſſaries, had come from the palatinate into England, as if by direction of an oracle: not with expectation to ſettle here, but to be tranſported to America, there to cultivate ſome waſte lands in the Engliſh colonies, and to acquire by their labour an honeſt livelihood. But the tories put a quite different conſtruction upon their coming over hither; eſpecially ſince there had been an act of parliament lately made for naturalizing all foreign proteſtants. The reaſon of this law, and of the arrival of the Palatines in England, was, that the kingdom might not be depopulated, which was already reduced to a great ſcarcity of men for carrying on the war and foreign commerce, but might be ſupplied by this ſort of recruits. The queen taking compaſſion on them, granted her royal licence for the Palatines to come into England: and the miniſters, not fearing any evil from an act of commiſeration, gave orders for the bringing over five thouſand of them into England. When they arrived, they pitched their tents and huts in the neighbourhood of Greenwich; and there they remained all the ſummer.

THE queen gave them a ſhare of her bounty: and many, after her example, were moved with compaſſion for them: ſome gave them victuals; others ſet them to work. But when theſe men hired themſelves out by the day at a lower rate than is cuſtomary in England, the workmen and labourers were highly offended at the coming of theſe foreigners

foreigners into England, becauſe they, who had before made twelve-pence of their day's work, could now hardly get eight-pence; and every thing but bread fell proportionably in its price.

THE labourers not only murmured againſt foreigners, but ſometimes came to blows with them: but of all men, none envied them ſo much as the French refugees.

SOME of the hotteſt tories, who make it a point of religion not to relieve any but thoſe who are of the ſame principles with themſelves, underhand ſtirred up the common people, who are naturally averſe to foreigners, though others of the tories were much concerned at their ungenerous conduct. In the mean time the greateſt part of the biſhops, and many other eminent men, uſed their endeavours to procure them ſubſtantial relief, and to ſend part of thoſe miſerable people into Ireland, and part of them into America: many took them into their houſes, and entertained them in their families, or otherwiſe afforded them bountiful ſupport. But the number of the Palatines encreaſing, and the winter and dearth at the ſame time becoming ſtill more and more pinching, thoſe great and good men hired empty houſes in the out-parts of the city, wherein the reſt of thoſe poor wretches, who as yet remained in the fields, might have the benefit of a ſhelter from the inclemency of the ſeaſon, to keep them from periſhing by hunger and cold, till an opportunity could be found to employ them, or to ſend them into the plantations.

WHEN the dearth grew daily more and more preſſing, the ignorant multitude imputed their neceſſities to the Palatines, and laid the blame of their calamities upon the miniſtry, who had very unſeaſonably brought them hither. They began to cry out that the war was protracted by the duke of Marlborough, and that a famine would enſue: and this clamour, and ſuch like reproaches, were the common diſcourſe and entertainment of the tattling goſſips of both ſexes.

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WHILE theſe things paſſed in the city, the country gentlemen, more wiſely, examined into the difficulties and the cauſes of the dearth in the country, and took notice of the corn merchants, who had hoarded up corn in their granaries, and preſently exported it to Portugal and France, where the dearth was the greateſt: therefore, when corn began to be dear, the country gentlemen prohibited the dealers in that article from carrying it out of that country, and often took their horſes out of their waggons.

ABOUT this time there aroſe a hot debate about Sir Simon Harcourt's election to the houſe of commons. The deſign of the court-party was to vote him out; that of the tories to keep him in. The whigs, finding that the lord Godolphin was averſe to Harcourt, would have had the controverſy determined by the law of the land, and not have introduced a new method of proceeding. Harcourt, who was a diſtinguiſhed orator, deſired, "that if they did not think fit to preſerve that liberty which former parliaments had reſtored, they would not ſuffer it now to be branded, at the diſcretion of the courtiers, by a vote of parliament, as it had been oppreſſed before by force of arms; or, at leaſt, that they would either leave him the ſame rights with his adverſary, or elſe deprive them thereof of both, equally and alike. How often ſoever it be determined, ſaid he, it will be all one to me, if ye do but leave us both the ſame right, and do not deprive us of the common law of the land." He alſo added a few words concerning the injuries of enemies; againſt whom, if the houſe of commons would not defend their own dignity, he adviſed them at leaſt to defend the dignity, immunity, and rights of the ancient corporations. "Some great men, ſaid he, out of regard to their own dignity, ought to ſubmit their own wills and paſſions to the public welfare, leſt, while they hope to hurt me, they may happen to hurt the public: they who depart from the conſtitutions of former parliaments, from the authority of the houſe of commons, and from ancient cuſtom, do not only depart from the right of this, but that of all other corporations; and this, I am ſenſible, will hereafter turn to your damage more than mine."

WHEN

When this queſtion had been debated in the houſe of commons till late at night, and all the treaſurer's friends had been packed together in the houſe, and the ſpeaker was proceeding to put it to the vote, Sir Simon Harcourt perceiving his cauſe to be deſperate, ſpake to this effect: "Great pains have now been taken to no purpoſe, to recover "the rights and liberties of the people of England from the oppreſ- "ſion of a little faction. As to my own particular caſe, it is but of "little importance, and therefore I ſhall give you no further trouble "about it; but the monument of the baſeneſs of ſome people, which "has been this day erected in this houſe, will, I plainly foreſee, be a "proof to poſterity, both of the loſs of liberty, and of an oppreſſed "parliament."

Sir Simon Harcourt being thus voted out of the houſe of commons, ſet himſelf to ſtudy revenge; neither did he now ſubmit his own will and paſſions to the public welfare, which he had lately recommended to others, nor abſtain from thoſe very faults which he had lately cenſured; but being highly provoked at this diſgrace, he concerted meaſures with Mr. St. John and Mr. Harley: and theſe men now diſcovered how ill they ſtood affected towards the duke of Marlborough and the confederates. Though they were obnoxious to the tories for having ſometime been engaged with the Marlborough party, yet they thought they might reconcile themſelves to the tories for the Pretender's ſake, becauſe there ſtill remained ſome footſteps of their old familiarity; and they profeſſed that they were at leaſt in their hearts the ſame with them. At laſt, by Dr. Atterbury's mediation, they drew the tories into their meaſures. Many of the Marlborough party were brought over by hopes of penſions and places; others, allured by Mr. Harley's favour, or their alliance to him; ſuch as the Foleys, the Winningtons, &c. The queen's friends, Mr. Harley's creatures, Sir Simon Harcourt's clients, and the inſtruments of Mr. St. John's pleaſures, were all joined together. And many noble and illuſtrious perſons, who had entertained old grudges againſt the duke of Marlborough, came now into this concert of his enemies. Theſe were followed by the duke of Ormond's train of lacquies, and all the loweſt rabble of the city, which was very numerous. The queen, who ſe-

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cretly favoured theſe men, drew off the dukes of Somerſet, Newcaſtle, and Queenſberry, and many other noblemen, from the duke of Marlborough's friendſhip; nor indeed were the old whigs neglected in this ſolicitation, though they had before eſcaped the temptation. And Marlborough complained, that many men were at this time corrupted through envy, and the detraction of his praiſe, who owed their honour and fortune to his favour.

After the duke of Marlborough had loſt the queen's favour, he was not a little hurt by the common clamour that had been raiſed of the prolongation of the war, the danger of the church, and the difficulty of getting French wine; of which the laſt was as trivial, as the ſecond was impertinent, and the firſt neceſſary. And yet it was ſtrange to ſee how much the deſire of French wine, and the dearneſs of it, alienated many men from the duke of Marlborough's friendſhip.

And now I ſhall take this opportunity to ſpeak of the French wine-drinkers as truly and briefly as I can. On the firſt breaking out of the confederate war, the merchants in England were prohibited from all commerce with France, and a heavy duty was laid upon French wine. This cauſed a grievous complaint among the topers, who have great intereſt in the parliament, as if they had been poiſoned by Port wines. Mr. Portman Seymour, who was a jovial companion, and indulged his appetites, but otherwiſe a good man; general Churchill, the duke of Marlborough's brother, a man of courage, but a lover of wine; Mr. Periera, a Jew and ſmell-feaſt, and other hard drinkers, declared, that the want of French wine was not to be endured, and that they could hardly bear up under ſo great a calamity. Theſe were joined by Dr. Aldridge, who, though nick-named the prieſt of Bacchus, was otherwiſe an excellent man, and adorned with all kinds of learning. Dr. Ratcliffe, a phyſician of great reputation, who aſcribed the cauſe of all diſeaſes to the want of French wines, though he was very rich, and much addicted to wine, yet being extremely covetous, bought the cheaper wines; but at the ſame time he imputed the badneſs of his wine to the war, and the difficulty of getting better; therefore the duke of Beaufort, and the earl of Scarſdale, two young noblemen of great

intereſt among their acquaintance, who had it in their power to live at their eaſe in magnificence or luxury, merrily attributed all the doctor's complaints to his avarice. All thoſe were alſo for peace rather than war. And all the bottle-companions, many phyſicians, and great numbers of the lawyers and inferior clergy; and, in fine, the looſe women too, were united together in the faction againſt the duke of Marlborough. But matters not being yet ripe for an attack, their hatred againſt the duke did not yet break out openly. The heads of the faction gained daily more and more of the queen's favour by detracting from the praiſes of the duke of Marlborough. Their emiſſaries leſſened the victories obtained in the wars in Flanders; and either aſperſed the duke of Marlborough's glory with petty falſehoods, or unjuſtly transferred it to others: nay, they laid even the ill-ſucceſſes in Spain to his charge. His wife's faults, too, were aggravated to the common people. The earl of Godolphin was falſely charged, in ordinary converſation, with embezzling the public treaſure. The earl of Wharton was reputed an enemy to the lordly power and tyranny of the clergy, a profane perſon, and out of God's favour. The earl of Sunderland and the lord Halifax were bitterly railed at. And, in a word, all the whigs, eſpecially thoſe who were ſtyled the Junto, were cenſured as irreligious people, by thoſe who had no religion at all of their own. For in that degenerate ſtate of the kingdom, uncertainties paſſed current for certainties, and probabilities for truths; and truths themſelves were greatly magnified among the vulgar by thoſe of the French faction. All things, in ſhort, were ſo carried on, both in the city and country, as if the intereſt and name of the French had again become moſt acceptable and popular in England.

The duke of Marlborough obſerving theſe things in England, and knowing that the Dutch too were earneſt for a peace, at laſt turned his thoughts to peace alſo. After Monſ. Pettecum's return from France, hearing that the ſtates-general had granted letters of ſafe-conduct to the preſident De Rouille, the French agent, who was coming into Holland, the duke ſet ſail for Holland in the month of March, leſt he ſhould be thought to delay the expected conferences.

Much

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Negociation in Holland for a peace.

MUCH about the ſame time, prince Eugene came to the Hague. And both of them being admitted to a conference with the ſtates-general, they ſeverally propoſed what they thought proper, as well for carrying on the war, as for treating of the conditions of peace. Theſe conditions were reported to Monſ. De Rouille; and after they had been alſo tranſmitted to the French king, he, in order to have all things debated in congreſs, commanded De Rouille to approve them. All this was done by the French king, leſt his people ſhould think he had neglected any overtures of peace; or elſe, in caſe theſe ſhould fail of ſucceſs, that he might afterwards complete the ſcheme which he himſelf had projected, and which the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the penſioner Heinſius had foreſeen.

IN the mean time, Mr. Henry Boyle propoſed ſome things in the houſe of commons, for the demolition of Dunkirk. His motion being approved, the houſe reſolved to addreſs the queen, that the duke of Marlborough might be inſtructed to inſiſt upon this among the other conditions of peace. The queen was ſo eager for peace, that ſhe was very unwilling to comply with the requeſt of the commons; however that condition was inſerted. The French king ſaid, "He thought it "hard that this which had been conveyed over to him by the favour "of a late king of England, ſhould now be diſhonourably extorted "from him by the Engliſh; but he would be content to comply with "this diminution of his honour and kingdom, for the ſake of his people, "and the common quiet of all Europe." When the preſident De Rouille arrived in Holland, he was permitted to reſide at Woerden; but no body was allowed to viſit him, nor he to go out of town, without the knowledge of the penſionary. The Dutch alſo demanded, that whatever ſhould be agreed upon in the conference, ſhould be ſigned by the plenipotentiaries; and though the French king was ſenſible that they all tended to his ruin, yet he ordered De Rouille readily to ſubmit to the preliminaries.

FRANCE at this time was full of all ſorts of calamities. For, beſides the many great overthrows before-mentioned, under the effects of which they ſtill laboured; the dearth alſo ſtill encreaſing had almoſt ruined

ruined the kingdom; and being greatly exhauſted of both money and ſoldiers, it was now reduced to the greateſt extremity of danger. Nor was any thing to be more dreaded than that this kingdom, once ſo flouriſhing, ſhould, through an immoderate ambition of power, fall under the dominion of other nations. For, ſince the taking of Liſle, the queſtion was no longer, whether France ſhould be victorious, but whether it ſhould continue to exiſt as an independent kingdom. There was not bread enough for the inhabitants, and much leſs for the ſoldiers; neither had the king ſoldiers or money, nor knew he whence to procure them. His debts were very great, and his treaſury empty. The finances were long ago ſold to the beſt bidder; the public revenues expoſed in open market, and afterwards exacted again of the farmers; the penſions and public payments being poſtponed, the tallies which the king had commanded to paſs as money now ſunk, till at length they fell to half their firſt value. At laſt, after frequent alterations of the rate of money in France, they would not paſs at all; and, for the ſame reaſon, even they were not ſafe who had their money in their coffers. There were few people of ſubſtance in France before the war, and fewer now who had any money, except the collectors of the taxes, the commanders of the army, the clergy, and ſome lawyers, who were alſo all pillaged by the king in one way or other. When the public credit was loſt, there was a ſtop alſo to the trade among private people, whereby the cuſtoms were leſſened, and the neceſſities of all men encreaſed. When all things were taxed for which any pretence could be invented, and the annual penſions granted for ſums of money lent on very uſurious intereſt, were ſtopped by the king, the people were taught by experience to plead, that every prolongation of the day of payment was a gift to the crown; for, beſides other taxes, money was alſo raiſed upon all the provinces, under the name of a donative. But there was ſcarcely any perſon who could borrow money in the king's name upon any ſecurity or pledge whatever.

Messieurs de Chamillard and Pentchartrin, and almoſt all the countries who had either money or credit, took great pains in this matter in the king's name, and made a progreſs through all the countries and towns to raiſe money for the king's ſervice. A poll-

tax:

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tax was impoſed on all ſervants and children. France was every where filled with collectors and other officers, and over-run with intendants and governors, who, beſides the public impoſts, made it their buſineſs alſo, by their private authority, to ſerve their own intereſt. The French bankers, treaſurers, and money-changers, contracted with the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Holland, Geneva, and almoſt all other nations for money. But after the failure of Monſ. Hugetan, all thoſe who had any dealings with the French king's exchequer, were ſoon forced to ſtop payment; and thereupon were obliged for their only ſecurity to the king's protection, whereby the rights of private perſons were groſsly violated; not to ſpeak of the rapine of the tax-gatherers, and the violence done to good ſubjects.

When there was a general ſtop of public payments; and there was neither any way to make exchange of ſuch ſums of money as the natives or foreigners had laid up at intereſt in the funds, nor any repayment of borrowed money, there was none who would engage his own credit on account of the king's money-matters for any premium or reward, nor accept if ſo engaged. In this ruinous ſtate of the French king's pillaged and exhauſted treaſury, the dearth grew daily greater. Therefore the French were under a neceſſity to pay ready-money to the foreign merchants for corn, leſt they ſhould periſh of hunger; by which means the kingdom was daily more and more exhauſted; and the people were almoſt ready to mutiny in the provinces, as well as in Paris, where the weight of afflictions is not always over-balanced by honour and virtue.

To aggravate all theſe evils, ſome domeſtic diſaſters happened in France; as the frauds of the treaſurers, and the irruptions of the confederates. For the dauphin, who was the darling of the people, narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of a party of the confederates, while he was hunting not far from Paris, without any apprehenſion of danger; one or two of his companions in the fields being actually intercepted by them. This accident alarmed the French to ſuch a degree, that they treated with the confederates about a yearly tribute to be paid them, that they might not plunder the inland provinces

vinces of France. To all theſe difficulties in France we may add the diſſentions between the miniſters of ſtate and the generals of the army, on account of the ill-ſucceſſes in the war. Theſe things gave the king great uneaſineſs. For he well knew that the alterations concerning things paſt proceeded from emulation and the envy of other men's praiſe, from ſelf-love or prejudice againſt others, rather than any true affection to the common cauſe. The duke de Vendoſme was commanded to return to his country-ſeat; the count de la Motte was laid aſide; and ſome few others, being ſlightly puniſhed, the king commanded the controverſies to ceaſe, and all reproaches to be ſilenced.

MONSIEUR DE CHAMILLARD, who had paſſed through many great offices, was now removed from the treaſury. The duke de Vendoſme, who was ſupported by the court ladies, and the arts of Alberoni, the king reſolved to ſend into Spain, becauſe he had not been on good terms the laſt year with the duke of Burgundy. The duke being a prince of great ſpirit, quick parts, and polite accompliſhments, formerly admitted to the conferences, and now into the privy-council, reſolved to declare to the king the preſent ruinous ſtate of France. He was not a little perplexed with both a ſenſe of his duty and the danger of performing it. As he bore the moſt dutiful reſpect to his grandfather, whoſe power and authority was ſupreme over all his ſubjects, he ſaid, "He had always been and would be conformable to his will; "but ſince he now had children of his own, the love of his country, "and the affection of a parent for his children, would not ſuffer him "to neglect the care of them, nor to conceal the dangers to which "France was expoſed. He could not ſee, why glory ſhould be pre-"ferred to ſafety, war to peace, Spain to France, or his brother to "himſelf. It is therefore proper for you," ſaid he, "to redreſs "theſe grievances, leſt the kingdom of France ſhould be utterly de-"populated for the ſake of Spain, by the people being always ex-"poſed to the ſword, or forced to leave their country." The French king, that he might not ſeem at once to be the riſe and ruin of his own offspring; and in order to pacify the duke of Burgundy and the people, reſolved to ſend the marquis de Torcy, who was the ornament and preſerver of France, into Holland. Under pretence of

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yielding up Spain, a conference was held at the Hague. In the mean time Monſ. de Rouille demanded a truce in Flanders. The confederates made anſwer, that ſuch had been the difference in the conduct of different generals, that as they were ſtronger in Flanders, ſo were the French in Spain and on the Rhine. If the French would give them a ceſſation of arms there, they would alſo make a ceſſation in Flanders, provided the French king would firſt of all put ſome cautionary towns into their hands; but if the French king carried on the war in Spain, and would not give them cautionary towns, they would alſo carry on the war in Flanders. Many of the Dutch inſiſted, that, although there were no ſuch ceſſation, nor any truce made, yet that needed not to be any impediment to the conferences. Though men of diſcernment conjectured that the conferences were demanded only the more to raiſe the ſpirits of the French for renewing the war; yet there were great expectations of the iſſue of this affair, and all men ſeemed to ſet their hearts on peace. At this time the object held in the higheſt eſteem in Britain, was riches. Fidelity, virtue, probity, modeſty, and charity gave place to wealth. Every one made the beſt of his way to get money. In the army, virtue found the road to poſts and dignities very rugged: but money carried all before it; and therefore it was raiſed by all means both good and bad; and many generals, colonels, captains, and officers of all ranks were advanced, rather for their money than their merit. By money, even the very troopers and guards were made choice of; and therefore virtue itſelf was miſerably deſpiſed, unleſs it was accompanied with money.

All theſe things were laid to the duke of Marlborough's charge, though they ought rather to have been imputed to the men of greater power and influence in the two houſes of parliament: for thoſe who had merited the favour either of the duke of Marlborough or the nation, were continually ſoliciting honours and commands, either for themſelves or their relations or friends. If any of them met with a repulſe, they became enraged againſt the duke of Marlborough; and beſtirring themſelves in the parliament, brought the kingdom into great danger by their reſentments.

At this time ſome noblemen, whoſe faculties were ſunk into ſloth and idleneſs, being ignorant of the toils of war, of the enemy, of the military art, and of what related to peace and confederacies; but being inſtructed by their faction at home, were vain enough to fancy themſelves capable of controlling all nations. Moſt of the inexperienced multitude, tired out with the burden of the war, and hoping for eaſe from their load, came into the ſame ſentiments with thoſe men; and ſo did the greateſt part of the inferior clergy, who intermeddled with ſecular matters no leſs than ſpiritual, and did not conſider themſelves as reſtrained by prudence within the limits of prayer and religion. The country clergy were reſtrained by Dr. Sharpe, archbiſhop of York, who was but very little verſed in public affairs, and by Dr. Atterbury. They diſcourſed much about the rights of the Gallican church, as if they would have united with it; and renouncing all the proteſtant principles, have revolted to the Popiſh doctrines and rules; wherefore the old and new whigs came now to a good underſtanding among themſelves, ſince many of them had then entertained a jealouſy, that the grievous times of king Charles I. were returning again; wherein, through the arrogance and intemperance of ſome of the churchmen, the church and ſtate together were on the very brink of ruin.

At this time the queen in her widowhood, indulging her revenge, countenanced this party out of the averſion ſhe had conceived againſt the dutcheſs of Marlborough. And becauſe ſhe had taken a regiment of horſe from the lord Windſor, and given it to colonel Hill, Mrs. Hill's brother, the ignorant multitude laid the odium of this alſo upon the dutcheſs of Marlborough. There were alſo ſome who made it their buſineſs to invent calumnies againſt both the duke and his lady. The dutcheſs of Marlborough, deſpairing perhaps of a reconciliation, ſeldom appeared at court. This afforded great buſineſs to the female tribe, who ran up and down the town from morning to night, that if they could pick up an unguarded expreſſion of her's, they might report it to the queen with aggravations of their own forging. Every one of them ſtriving to outvie others in favour, collected all the goſſipping tales they could to the diſcredit of other women of honour; all which Mrs.

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Maſham turned to the diſgrace of the dutcheſs of Marlborough. The modeſt dutcheſs of Somerſet is ſaid to have been almoſt the only lady who did not at that time intermeddle in theſe diſhonourable practices at court. Many of both ſexes, who were quite ignorant of what paſſed between the queen and her, railed againſt the intolerable inſolence of the dutcheſs of Marlborough. But ſhe ſupported and comforted herſelf by all the means in her power. And now ſhe ſet her heart on building herſelf a palace near the court.

WHILE ſhe was in the queen's favour, ſhe had obtained a grant of a piece of ground from her majeſty; and ſhe had alſo herſelf purchaſed a part of Spring Garden from Mr. Henry Boyle, for the purpoſe of building a houſe: a broad ſtone was laid, in commemoration of the time of its building, with this inſcription;

ANNO PACIFICO.

This inſcription confirmed many people in their expectation of a ſpeedy peace; but when it was diſcovered to be neither good Latin nor truth, it was afterwards ordered to be obliterated. Many blamed this as an inſolent act of the dutcheſs of Marlborough, though it was no more than is every day done by others; as if this houſe would have obſtructed the lights of her majeſty's palace, or intercepted from her ſome part of the hemiſphere.

THIS year a vaſt ſum of money was raiſed by the Britiſh parliament. Over and above ſixty-four thouſand pounds to the duke of Savoy, fifty thouſand more were paid him for carrying on the war; to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix; to the king of Portugal, ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix; to the king of Pruſſia, two hundred thouſand; to the elector Palatine, twenty thouſand; and to king Charles, a hundred and fifty thouſand. It was agreed upon between the Engliſh and Dutch in Flanders, that the Engliſh ſhould maintain ſeventy-two thouſand ſoldiers, but the Dutch a hundred and twenty-nine thouſand: of which, deducting ſixty-two thouſand for the garriſons, there would

would remain eighty-ſeven thouſand men for the camp. And when theſe were joined with the Engliſh, the whole army in Flanders would amount to a hundred and fifty-nine thouſand men. And the whole ſum of money raiſed by the Britiſh parliament, amounted to ſix millions four hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and thirty pounds.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK XII.

Conferences at the Hague, 1710, about Peace.——Preliminary Articles.——The French refuſe to ſign them.——The Conference broken off.——The French King's Apology to his Subjects.——Tournay beſieged,——and taken.——Battle of Malplaquet.——Mons beſieged,——and taken.——War between the Danes and Swedes.——Barrier Treaty.——A wonderful Interpoſition of Providence.——Dr. Sacheverell impeached.——Treaty at Gertruydenburg.

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NOT only was France, during ſo long a time, obliged to ſuſtain the weight of a conteſt in arms for the crown of Spain, and to ſtruggle with the miſeries of ſcarcity, and even famine: to all other evils the burden of the Pretender was added. The French king, therefore, obſerving the inconveniences which were likely to flow from that fountain, now promiſed to acknowledge, in the treaty of peace, the right of the queen of Great Britain, and to renounce the mock-title of the Pretender to the Britiſh crown. To theſe offers the French ambaſſador added many fine compliments: for the French, by this vain kind of acknowledging the titles of kings, affect to add great reputation to the French name; as if their king had any right or authority to determine the rights of any other king, or that any perſon could think the dominions of other princes were confirmed to them by his recognition!

BUT the more the confederates obſerved the French to be exact in ſuch a trifling affair, ſo much the more intent were they upon the war in general, and particularly upon the reduction of Spain and the Indies to the obedience of king Charles: and upon a full view of the whole matter, they were convinced that they ſhould act a very unworthy part, and expoſe the common cauſe to ruin, if they ſhould conclude a peace without attaining theſe objects.

THE French king, for the ſake of a conference, ſeemed ready to grant all their demands, and denied them nothing, but made them great promiſes; and ſaid, that the plenipotentiaries ſhould agree among themſelves about the ways and means of ſettling every thing.

BUT all this was done that the French king might extricate himſelf out of this dreadful and deſtructive war: for under a feigned inclination for peace, if he could but negociate it with caution and conſideration, the French king ſuppoſed he ſhould either quiet the minds of his ſubjects, or diſſolve the alliance among the confederates: and nobody could tell how far the minds of theſe might be wrought upon during the time of the conference.

THE confederates having long ago underſtood that the French king did not confer the royal titles upon the Pretender, with any other deſign than through his means to keep up diſſentions in Britain, and looking upon it themſelves as a mock-title, did not regard what his moſt chriſtian majeſty affirmed, or what he denied, on that head. They therefore, above all things, inſiſted upon the giving up to king Charles the rights of the kingdom of Spain; which being once obtained, they thought they ſhould have ſufficiently provided for the ſafety of Great Britain.

WHEN there ſeemed to be a fair proſpect of a peace, the parliament of England approved of the ſending plenipotentiaries to the propoſed conference. But who ſhould be ſent was yet uncertain: at length the lord viſcount Townſhend was named at London, and prince Eugene at Vienna. The Dutch diſpatched into France letters of ſafe conduct, with

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with a ſpecial or particular paſſport for the marquis de Torcy. After the preſident de Rouille had brought a favourable anſwer to their demands from the French king, the ſtates-general convened the plenipotentiaries of all the confederates, as had been agreed on among the firſt and leading articles of the grand alliance.

THE duke of Marlborough, who had returned to England, to report to the queen what had paſſed in the conference, now went back again to Holland on the 8th day of April 1710; and along with him the lord Townſhend, a man of excellent parts, ſo well experienced in public affairs, and ſo full of zeal for the good of his country, that none of the moſt nice and ſuſpicious could have room to doubt of his abilities, or of his inclination to peace. Prince Eugene alſo came thither on the 27th of March: and the marquis de Torcy came to the Hague on the 9th of May, to put the laſt hand to the treaty.

THE people of the United Provinces were overjoyed that ſo great a man was come to them to ſue for peace. But becauſe the French faction is very numerous in Holland, nobody was permitted to go to that miniſter's houſe without a licence from the penſionary, that nothing might be tranſacted clandeſtinely, nor any fraud be put upon the public.

Conferences at the Hague, 1710, about peace.

WHEN the conferences were on the point of being begun, the Dutch ran in crowds to congratulate the arrival of the plenipotentiaries. As ſoon as theſe met, there were ſolemn thankſgivings in the churches to God Almighty for bringing them there together, in order to put an end to a dreadful war, and to agree upon terms of peace; and great congratulations mutually paid among themſelves by the plenipotentiaries. After this the marquis de Torcy was admitted into the congreſs. When all their ſeveral credentials were read, the demands of the confederates were recited: then the marquis de Torcy, in a modeſt ſpeech, opened the conference with expreſſions of peace. It was, and always had been, the French king's chief deſire, he ſaid, that the wars might ceaſe, and arms be laid down: he mentioned the grounds of the war, and ſuch other things as ſeemed to him

him the moſt likely to bring the confederates to temper. In the mean time he deſired that a truce might be made, ſo that neither ſide might hurt the other while the conference laſted; he thought both ſides ought to abate ſomewhat of their obſtinacy, out of regard to the peace of Europe. He ſaid, Philip was already made a king; and added a few words concerning his abdication of Spain, together with excuſes for the French king. But though the French king's intentions were the ſame with theirs in this affair, he had not yet received any inſtructions relating thereto; they might, however, depend upon it, he himſelf would take all due care to ſee a performance of what was promiſed: but he ſaid, before they inſiſted upon that conceſſion, they ſhould conſider with themſelves what a reproach it would caſt upon the name of kings, and that the example of depoſing kings would not only affect one party, but poſſibly might affect them all; and he earneſtly deſired them not now to eſtabliſh ſuch a precedent, as might poſſibly ſpread itſelf too far. To this he added other things leſs pertinent to the main point in hand.

After the confederates had ſhewed how and by what degrees the French king had got poſſeſſion of Spain without right, and contrarily to all the treaties of former times, and the wills of the kings of Spain, they now inſiſted, in the firſt place, on reſtitution not only of that kingdom, but of all the dominions belonging to it, to king Charles; and they refuſed to grant any truce, unleſs the French king would limit the time for yielding up Spain; and, for the ſecurity of performing his promiſe, would put ſome cautionary towns into their poſſeſſion: for it would not be reaſonable that while they were treating of the terms of peace, they ſhould let ſlip the time of carrying on the war, and interrupt their preparations for the field, without any ſecurity given them on the part of the French king to prevent that danger.

The marquis de Torcy inſiſted that there was no occaſion for ſecurities or cautions in treating of preliminaries: but it was of great concern to the confederates to have ſecurity for his fidelity, for which no man's own credit was uſually judged to be ſufficient. De Torcy

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anſwered, "That his king's good inclination, his great age, and the "ſituation of his affairs, were a ſufficient ſecurity for theſe things." To this the confederates replied, "That they were engaged with a "powerful prince; and if Philip ſhould promiſe to quit Spain, but "not fix the preciſe time of his departure, in caſe he ſhould not have "left it when the war ſhould be over, he might yet not think himſelf "chargeable with a breach of promiſe, and they might be forced to renew "the war to their great inconvenience: for if there was neither a time "limited for his departure, nor a ſecurity given for it, there could be "but little hopes of peace." Yet the marquis de Torcy ſpake with ſuch candour, and treated with ſuch an air of ſincerity, as ſeemed to indicate a diſpoſition to comply with all the terms required: and the plenipotentiaries agreed upon theſe forty preliminaries following:

Preliminary articles.

I. THAT a good, firm, faithful, and perpetual alliance and true friendſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed between his imperial majeſty and his allies; namely, the queen of Great Britain and the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, on the one part; and the moſt chriſtian king, and his confederates, on the other part: but as neither the ſituation of affairs, nor the preſent time would permit that the aſſent of the Germanic body could poſſibly be obtained antecedently to this, the emperor himſelf undertook to procure that aſſent of the Germans, and promiſed that the preliminary articles of peace ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible, be ratified, before the execution of thoſe articles which related to the empire of Germany.

II. THAT theſe preliminary articles were to be laid down for the foundation of peace.

III. THAT the French king ſhould acknowledge the ſucceſſion of king Charles III. to all the rights of the crown of Spain, every where, according to the will of king Philip IV. without the leaſt regard to the will of king Charles II. except what was given, or to be given by the articles of peace to the king of Portugal, the duke of Savoy, and others.

IV. THAT

IV. THAT the duke of Anjou, then in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Spain, ſhould, within the term of two months from the firſt day of June next enſuing, depart out of the kingdom of Spain with his whole family: and that the French king, within that time, ſhould cauſe Sicily to be delivered up into the hands of king Charles; to which agreement, if the duke of Anjou ſhould not aſſent, then the French king, together with the confederates, ſhould take ſuch proper meaſures as ſhould be thought neceſſary to reduce him, ſo that all Europe might enjoy a perfect tranquillity.

V. THAT this tranquillity might be eſtabliſhed by means of this peace, the French king promiſed to recal within two months, and withdraw all his forces, which he then had in Spain and Sicily, and from the Indies, as ſoon as poſſible; his moſt chriſtian majeſty laſtly promiſing, on the word of a king, not to ſupport the duke of Anjou from that time forward, nor to aſſiſt him with troops, money, or proviſions.

VI. THAT the monarchy of Spain ſhould remain whole and entire to the houſe of Auſtria, and that none of the dominions thereof, either in whole or in part, ſhould ever be united to that of France, by any tie or authority whatever, viz. by legacy, covenant, ſucceſſion, matrimony, purchaſe, or free gift, or by any other title whatſoever; nor deſcend or be ſubject to any French prince: nor ſhould any king or prince of France thereafter acquire any right to any cities, juriſdictions, fortified places, caſtles, or countries belonging to the dominions of Spain, by exchange, or any other right whatever; nor to enjoy any ſuch, particularly in Flanders, by what right ſoever acquired.

VII. THAT the French king, particularly, ſhould never become poſſeſſed of the Weſt Indies, nor ſend any ſhips thither for commerce, under any pretext whatever.

VIII. THAT the French king, in order clearly to evince his ſincere diſpoſition towards peace, and his deſire to put an end to all the ſuſ-

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picions entertained of him, or his ſecret council, agreed to deliver up to his imperial majeſty and the German empire the city and citadel of Straſburgh, together with Fort Kehl and its appendages, with one hundred pieces of large cannon, and a proportionable quantity of powder, in the ſame condition which they were in at that time, and that immediately after the ratification of the articles of peace ſhould be exchanged.

IX. THAT the French king ſhould alſo deliver up into the hands of the emperor the town of Briſac, and all its dependencies, with all the cannon and warlike ſtores.

X. THAT the French king ſhould thenceforward have poſſeſſion of Alſace, according to the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter, ſo as to exerciſe his right of government in the imperial cities there, ſaving, nevertheleſs, the rights of the other free cities which they held in common with them: that the emperor ſhould enjoy the privileges, immunities, and taxes, as he ought to enjoy them, according to the ſame peace; except that the emperor and empire of Germany ſhould be at liberty to demoliſh Landau, if they ſhould think fit.

XI. THAT the French king ſhould, at his own expence, demoliſh all the fortified places he had on the Rhine, between Baſil and Philipſburgh, ſo as never to be repaired again.

XII. THAT the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel ſhould poſſeſs the caſtle of Rhinfelt, until it ſhould be thought fit to diſpoſe of it otherwiſe.

XIII. THAT ſince the queen of Great Britain and the ſtates-general were of opinion that the clauſe relating to religion, in the fourth article of the peace of Ryſwick, was not only an infringement of the treaty of Munſter, but alſo that it ſeemed to be worded otherwiſe than it ought to have been, it was thought proper that the ſame ſhould be referred to the enſuing congreſs, in order that it might be reverſed.

XIV. THAT

XIV. That the French king, in the treaty of peace, ſhould hereafter acknowledge the title of the queen of Great Britain.

XV. That he ſhould alſo acknowledge the ſucceſſion of the crown of Britain, according to the ſettlement.

XVI. That the French king ſhall deliver up to the queen of Great Britain all that he then poſſeſſed in Newfoundland, and that all places taken by either the Engliſh or French in the Indies during this war, ſhould be reſtored on both ſides.

XVII. That all the fortifications on one ſide of the port of Dunkirk ſhould, within the ſpace of two months, be razed or filled up at the French king's expence, according to the direction of the queen of Great Britain and the ſtates-general, with all the works, moles, bulwarks, banks, and ſluices; and the other half to be demoliſhed within two months more; and that the French king ſhould never repair the ſame, nor ſuffer it to be made capable of receiving ſhips for the future.

XVIII. That the perſon who calls himſelf king of Great Britain ſhould depart out of France, and retire into ſuch other country as by the enſuing treaty ſhould be agreed on.

XIX. That in the future treaty of peace, care ſhould be taken to ſettle a treaty of commerce with Great Britain.

XX. That as to the king of Portugal, the French king promiſed that he ſhould enjoy all the advantages ſtipulated in his favour by the treaties between him and his allies.

XXI. That the French king ſhould acknowledge the king of Pruſſia, and not diſturb him in the rights and poſſeſſion of Neufchattel.

XXII. That the French king ſhould yield and make over to the ſtates-general, as a barrier, the places of Furnes, Fortknock, Menin, Warneton,

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Warneton, Commines, Werwick, and all the dependencies of Liſle, its Caſtellany only and Doway excepted, together witn Conde alſo, and Mauberge, in the ſame condition they then were, with all their dependencies, and eſpecially their artillery and military ſtores: and that the ſtates ſhould be at liberty to treat about thoſe places with king Charles, as well with regard to the garriſons they ſhould maintain therein, as to their having the ſovereignty and propriety of the upper part of Guelderland, which was ceded to them by the fifty-ſecond article of the peace of Munſter: and if there ſhould be found any public magazine at Tournay, an agreement ſhould be made for the military ſtores and artillery.

XXIII. THAT the French king ſhould be obliged to deliver up all the fortified places, caſtles, and cities, which he had before the war taken in the Spaniſh Netherlands, in the ſame condition they were in, with their cannon and warlike ſtores; except only, that if there has been a public magazine erected in Namur ſince the time that the French forces entered that place; in which caſe they ſhould have liberty forthwith to take away all the artillery and ſtores, except ſo much as ſhould be neceſſary for the defence of the city: but all this only on condition that the Romiſh religion ſhould be continued ſafe as before; but that the ſoldiers in garriſon there, as well as in all the fortified places of the Spaniſh Netherlands, ſhould have free exerciſe and liberty of their religion.

XXIV. THAT therefore the French king ſhould not after that remove any military ſtores out of the aforeſaid places.

XXV. THAT the French king ſhould enter into the ſame treaty of commerce with the ſtates-general, as had been ſtipulated by the treaty of Ryſwick; and that the tariff of the year 1664 ſhould be in force; all other edicts more burthenſome being aboliſhed, and eſpecially that proclaimed in France in the year 1699: therefore that of the year 1664 only ſhould now take place, and all the Dutch ſhips in the ports of France ſhould for the future be exempted from the cuſtom of fifty ſols.

XXVI.

XXVI. THAT the French king, after ſigning the peace, ſhould alſo acknowledge the duke of Hanover for one of the electors.

XXVII. THAT the duke of Savoy ſhould be freely reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Savoy, the country of Nice, and all others of his hereditary rights, which had been violently taken from him in the late war: and farther, that the French king ſhould conſent that he ſhould enjoy all the territories, lands and places yielded to him by the emperor and his allies.

XXVIII. THAT the ſaid king ſhould make over to the duke of Savoy the towns of Exilles, Feneſtrelles, and Chaumont, together with the valley of Pragelas; and that Genevre, or the mountain Gebenna, ſhould be the boundary betwixt France and the dutchy of Savoy.

XXIX. As to what formerly belonged to the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, their rights and pretenſions ſhould be referred to the enſuing negotiations of the peace: ſaving, nevertheleſs, to the elector palatine all the dignities lately conferred on him by the emperor; who ſhould alſo poſſeſs the upper palatinate and county palatine: and that the imperial city of Donawert, now reſtored to its ancient privileges, ſhould retain the ſame rights: the ſtates-general ſhould alſo have liberty to treat with the emperor about garriſoning Huy, Bonne, and the caſtle of Liege.

XXX. THAT in order to remove all doubts, and to eaſe the minds of each party, there ſhould be no delay to execute the articles agreed on, on which the reſtoration of tranquillity, a mutual friendſhip, and reconciliation of parties do very much depend.

XXXI. IT was agreed that whatever future demands ſhould be made, ſhould not break off or interrupt the ceſſation of arms there agreed on.

XXXII. THAT the four circles of the empire, the king of Portugal, the king of Pruſſia, the duke of Savoy, and the other allies, ſhould

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ſhould be at liberty to make ſuch further demands, by their plenipotentiaries in the future treaty of peace, as they ſhould think fit.

XXXIII. THAT the general treaty of peace ſhould, if poſſible, be concluded within two months after opening the congreſs.

XXXIV. THAT in order to the concluſion of a peace within the ſpace of two months, both ſides agreed on a ceſſation of arms, to commence immediately after the ratification of the articles ſhould be notified to the reſpective parties.

XXXV. AFTER the ratification of theſe articles, the moſt chriſtian king, to demonſtrate his earneſt deſire of peace, and to put an end to this bloody war, agreed to evacuate and deliver up to the confederates theſe cities following; to wit, Mons, Namur, and Charleroy, before the 15th day of June next enſuing; Luxemburgh, Conde, Tournay, Maubeuge, within fifteen days after that; and Furnes, Newport, Ypres, and Fort Knock, within fifteen days more: he promiſed alſo to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within the two months agreed on; but the giving up of Straſburgh was referred to the time mentioned in the eighth article.

XXXVI. THE moſt chriſtian king alſo promiſed, that within two months after the ratification of theſe articles, he would fulfill all the demands of the other confederates.

XXXVII. IT was now alſo agreed, that in caſe his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould perform the articles before mentioned, and give up the kingdom of Spain, within the two months therein for that purpoſe limited, the ceſſation of arms ſhould continue till the peace ſhould be concluded, that the articles agreed on might be the more eaſily executed.

XXXVIII. THAT all theſe ſhould be the foundation of a peace; which ſhould afterwards be drawn up in order to their execution in the moſt ample form.

XXXIX.

XXXIX. THAT the ratification and exchange of theſe ſhould be made on the part of the French king, the queen of Great Britain, and the ſtates-general, before the 15th day of June following; on the part of the emperor, before the firſt of July; that the ſame ſhould be done on the part of the empire of Germany as ſoon as poſſible: that the articles being ratified, might forthwith be perfected and performed.

XL. THAT, in order to haſten the conferences for a peace, it was alſo agreed among the plenipotentiaries to appoint the congreſs to be opened at the Hague on the 15th day of June. All the kings and princes, &c. who were concerned, were invited to ſend their plenipotentiaries to it. And, to prevent all interruptions, no diſtinction was to be made of any one's dignity, pre-eminence, or degree, before the time of ſigning and concluding the peace.

DONE, ſubſcribed, and delivered by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, and the ſtates-general, and other princes, and the French king's miniſters, fully empowered for that purpoſe, at the Hague, in the year of our Lord 1709, May 28th.

EUGENE P^R of SAVOY,	PH. LOUIS CO^T SINZENDORF,
P. and D. of MARLBOROUGH,	BONIMA BARON DE REED,
TOWNSHEND,	VAN RENSWOOD, GOSLINGA,
A. HEINSIUS,	UTERSUM, WICHERS,
WOLDEREN,	WIL. BUYS, VAN DUSSEN.

IN treating of theſe articles it was obſerved, that, in the public conferences, the maquis de Torcy had France and the French king's honour ſo much at heart, that his eyes were often ſuddenly filled with tears. For many things were propoſed to him by the confederates, which he ſaid were unexpected, and ſo hard, that he had not authority to ſubſcribe them. The confederates, thinking they ought not to omit any thing at the beginning, leſt they ſhould ſeem to have neglected their allies, and the confederacy ſhould thereby have been diſſolved, confeſſed that they had now inſerted ſome things which

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might perhaps be afterwards remitted to France, on account of the ceſſion of Spain to king Charles, which was the main article.

The French refuſe to ſign them,

When the preliminaries were now ready for ſubſcription, the marquis de Torcy ſaid, He did not fear but the king his maſter would accept the terms, though they were ſomewhat hard; but he excuſed himſelf from ſigning them at preſent, leſt the dauphin ſhould look upon him with reſentment as the firſt who would ſubſcribe to the proſcription and abdication of king Philip, who was dear to him above all other objects. This the confederates eaſily forgave him. And the marquis, in return, promiſed never to neglect any occaſion of rendering his beſt ſervices to the common intereſt of Europe, and to bring the buſineſs in hand to a happy iſſue.

The marquis de Torcy left the Hague that very day, to lay the preliminaries before his king; but he promiſed to prince Eugene to acquaint him with the king's ſentiments on or before the 4th of June. In the mean time prince Eugene ſent the articles to the emperor, as the duke of Marlborough alſo did to the queen, which were ratified by her majeſty without the leaſt delay or heſitation. As all men's minds were intent upon peace, the marquis de Torcy was waited for with the utmoſt impatience. But the Engliſh and Dutch did not doubt but, whether he returned himſelf or no, he would anſwer all their expectations of a long-wiſhed-for peace. Monſ. de Bouille, after ſome heſitation, during this time of ſuſpence at the Hague, is reported to have ſaid to his intimate friends, "O how prettily this affair has "turned out for our purpoſe!" This expreſſion, which he let fall inadvertently, was ſoon reported to others, and filled many people with ſuſpicions.

At this time alſo, thoſe of the French faction in England, and ſuch as had entertained long prejudices againſt the duke of Marlborough, made it their buſineſs to ſpread abroad extraordinary reports of the French king's ſickneſs, and the diſtreſſed ſtate of affairs throughout all France. Nay, they entered into a conſpiracy, that, in caſe the preliminaries

preliminaries ſhould be diſputed in France, or a peace not concluded, they would lay the blame on the duke of Marlborough, and affirm that the fault was not in the French king. This gave riſe to a greater diſguſt againſt the duke than had ever prevailed before. For the Engliſh are naturally inclined to compaſſion, which now exceeded all bounds; inſomuch that they forgot the common danger, and were not moved by any pity for themſelves. But many were of opinion, that thoſe men acted in this whole affair as it were in concert with the French king.

At the time appointed, which was the 4th day of June, the marquis de Torcy wrote letters to prince Eugene; wherein he acquainted him, that the king had ſeriouſly conſidered the articles in his council, and could not poſſibly accept the terms, without further deliberation about them. As to particulars, he referred him to the preſident De Rouille, and concluded with expreſſions of his own private reſpect to the prince.

On the receipt of theſe letters by an expreſs, Monſ. de Rouille acquainted the plenipotentiaries of the confederates on the 5th of June, that the king his maſter had refuſed to ratify the articles; and that he had particularly excepted againſt the 10th, 11th, 29th, and 37th Articles, for much the ſame reaſons and cauſes as he is ſaid to have before offered for rejecting thoſe articles: to which he added a few words by way of apology for his king's unwillingneſs that king Philip ſhould be forced to quit Spain, or himſelf to deſert his allies, abdicate Alſace, and deliver up the cities in the nature of ſecurity or caution. "If he ſhould do this," ſaid De Rouille, "what ſecurity "are the confederates to give him, that they will then lay down their "arms, or that he ſhall continue in ſafety? His majeſty," he ſaid in concluſion, "did not think it becoming him to do this, leſt his dig- "nity ſhould thereby ſuffer diminution, who had never yet at any "time broken his word with other princes."

The confederates, ſeeing no proſpect of putting an end to diſputes by a conference, anſwered Monſ. de Rouille, That ſince he had

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brought to them the reſolutions of the king his maſter, he deſired him to be pleaſed to carry back to his majeſty their anſwer, "That "unleſs the French king ſhould accept the articles propoſed, before "the 15th day of June, they would never afterwards recede in the leaſt "from them, nor content themſelves with theſe for the future." And now De Rouille declared, that he had no further inſtructions. On the other ſide, nothing remained to the confederates but to conſtrain the French king by force of arms: ſo that, without many more words on either ſide, Monſ. De Rouille left the Hague on the 9th day of June, in order to return to France by the way of Rotterdam; which gave occaſion to many curious obſervers to affirm, that there had no plenipotentiaries come from France.

The conference broke off.

AFTER the articles were ratified in England and Holland, the duke of Marlborough wrote to the queen, that the French king had rejected the conditions, as he had foreſeen he would, and that no juſtice could be expected from him. This being commonly known in London, prudent men of both parties were vexed that the only opportunity of acting with ſucceſs had been loſt in a conference; others thought the French king had procured this conference, and propoſed the treaty of peace only with a deſign to avoid the preſent danger, and that he might the better bear up under the preſſures of the dearth; that he never ſeriouſly intended to deliver up Spain, or to agree to any terms of peace; and therefore that the confederates had nothing left to do, but to puſh on the war. But thoſe of the French faction, and the duke of Marlborough's private enemies, whoſe number was now greatly increaſed, approved the French king's reſolution, and excuſed him from all deceit. They caſt unjuſt reflections upon the confederates, and purſued the duke of Marlborough with the moſt reproachful words and bitter aſperſions, as if he had projected ſome extraordinary honours for himſelf, and would have prolonged the war for his own private advantage, till the whole kingdom ſhould be mortgaged. But the houſe of commons interpoſing their authority, put a ſtop to the peace, and the farther negociations of the plenipotentiaries.

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THE French king, purſuing his final reſolution of war, in order to encourage his ſoldiers, cauſed lines to be drawn of a vaſt extent to fortify his dominions; and, to raiſe the ſpirits of his people, who laboured under the want of neceſſaries, he ſent circular letters throughout all his provinces, in which he declared, "That he had tried all methods in order to reſtore peace; and that nothing was agreed upon, was the fault of thoſe whom he neither imagined, nor wiſhed to be diſpoſed for peace, and who delighted in war for the ſake of their own private intereſt: that he had, from a deſire of peace, diſpatched his plenipotentiaries into Holland, with inſtructions not only to grant all that was juſt, but alſo to give up a part of his own right." Then proceeding warmly to aggravate the matter to the greateſt height, he added, that "he could not obtain any reaſonable terms of the confederates. The more eaſy I was (ſaid he) on my part, the more hard were they on theirs, and continually threw new bars in the way of all pacification. Not only was a reaſonable motive wanting to incline me to ſign the preliminary articles by them propoſed, but it became neceſſary for me to guard with care againſt ſuch a compliance; for, ſuppoſing that I had yielded to them the fortified cities by way of caution, and that king Philip had not quitted Spain within the two months preſcribed, they would have kept thoſe cities without any impeachment of falſehood; and yet they gave me no ſecurity againſt the dangers which might enſue, in caſe the conditions were not performed on their part. Unleſs king Philip ſhould voluntarily quit that kingdom, of which he was in poſſeſſion by a divine right, within the time limited, they inſiſted that I ſhould drive my own grandſon out of his throne by force of arms. Horrid and unheard-of inhumanity! Farther ſtill, unleſs I would demoliſh the ſtrength of my own kingdom, they would be ſtill at liberty to purſue the war, after they had got poſſeſſion of the ſtrongholds on my frontiers; whereby we ſhould have been never the nearer to peace, nor the more ſecure againſt war. He therefore exhorted them to aſſiſt him in the war, in preference to ſuch a peace, leſt the ruin and perpetual infamy of the nation, and the whole French name, ſhould be the conſequence of thoſe diſhonourable terms; which (ſaid he) would be a greater loſs to us, and gain to them,

The French king's apology to his ſubjects.

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" them, than they could reaſonably expect to acquire by all their " forces."

THUS the French king, turning every thing that related to the conference for peace to the reproach of the confederates, concealed or diſplayed what he thought fit to ſerve his own ends; impoſed heavy burdens upon his ſubjects, and borrowed all the money he could of the Dutch. And, to ſhew with what intent he had propoſed a peace, the French now boaſted of the trick put upon the confederates in the late conference.

AT this time, though great preparations had been made for carrying on the war, as much as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, leſt the conference ſhould too long delay the reſolutions and proceedings of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, after the French king's anſwer had rendered all hopes of peace deſperate, went to the camp, and drew the forces out of their winter-quarters, to the number of a hundred and ten thouſand.

THE French king had privately dealt with the Dutch, ſo as to make them believe he would not yet drop the articles of peace, and to think it adviſable ſtill to perſiſt in explaining and treating of the conditions of peace propoſed, particularly of the 6th, 8th, and 37th articles. Prince Eugene, who from the very firſt was averſe to all conferences, ſeeing that he had now nothing more to do with the French in that way, ſaid, his honour was in hazard, as well as the time miſpent in vain diſputations and apologies; and that he could not treat with the French any where but in the field; therefore, not to loſe any more time, he drew the imperialiſts out of their winter-quarters on the 21ſt of June. Prince Eugene commanding on the right, and the duke of Marlborough on the left, led the whole army out of the neighbourhood of Courtray, acroſs the rivers Deule and Mark, into the French confines, and made a ſtand in a large plain not far from Liſle, to give the enemy a fair opportunity, if they were diſpoſed, to come to an engagement.

THE French, under the command of the duke de Villars, were drawn together from all parts of the camp in the plains of Lens. Their camp was covered on each ſide by unpaſſable moraſſes; in the front were ſome towns well fortified, and the ſpaces made up with ſtrong lines drawn between them. The duke de Villars commanded his camp to be fortified with entrenchments, ſtrengthened by many outworks and bulwarks. On the 26th of June the detachment of our horſe, which had been ſent out to view the enemy, reported, that they had drawn a line with a ditch twelve feet broad and ſix feet deep, which, in the flat and lower places, were filled with water let into them from the marſhes, ſo that it was impracticable to come up to them. The next day, lieutenant-general Cadogan made the ſame report. Upon this intelligence, ſince no means were found of encountering Villars in his preſent ſituation, on the 27th of June, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene removed their camp, and being diſappointed of a battle, marched by night, with great ſilence, the direct way to Tournay; in which were twelve battalions of foot, and four troops of dragoons left in garriſon for its defence. This city is reckoned the ſtrongeſt in all Flanders both by art and nature. The river Scheld runs through it. The foundation of the works is waſhed by a ditch filled with water out of the river. The walls are ſtrengthened with fifteen ramparts, before which there are thirty half-moons and hornworks; and all theſe encompaſſed with a double ditch, a palliſade, and a breaſtwork. To all the other works were added battlements empaled round, and all the ground about it was undermined.

ON one ſide of the city ſtands a citadel of wonderful ſtrength, and the nobleſt performance of Monſ. Vauban, which commands both the city and the country all around it. But as the city neither had a garriſon ſtrong enough to ſtand a ſiege, nor was otherwiſe ſufficiently provided with neceſſaries for that purpoſe, the duke de Villars ordered ſeven thouſand freſh ſoldiers from the neighbourhood of Conde to march up thither immediately, and to throw themſelves, if poſſible, into the city with a quantity of proviſions. Long marches were made on both ſides. The confederates, in order to prevent all paſſing into or out of the city, detached a body of horſe thither to ſecure all the avenues,

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avenues. By the way alſo, the earl of Orkney and the prince of Naſſau were ſent out to take the two ports of St. Amand and Mortaigne, which being but weakly garriſoned, were eaſily reduced; for as ſoon as the confederates came in ſight, the garriſons evacuated thoſe places, and fled into the neareſt cities. The reinforcements alſo which Villars had ſent to the relief of his garriſon in Tournay were repulſed, without having made any attempt.

THE marquis de Surville, governor of Tournay, labouring under many difficulties, wrote to the duke de Villars, that unleſs he came to his relief without delay, he was in ſuch want of all things, that he ſhould not be able to hold out a long ſiege. In the mean time he ſent a party of his troops out of the city, to bring in ſheep and oxen from the neighbouring country: of which the confederates receiving notice, the enemy's detachment was repulſed without their prey, and the caſtle reſtored to the country people.

MUCH about the ſame time the duke de Villars ſent ten thouſand of his men to take Warneton. On information of this, they ſent lieutenant-general Wilkes with two thouſand grenadiers by long marches thither. But all the ſpeed he could make proved to be of no ſervice to the ſoldiers in garriſon there: for he received intelligence by the way, that Warneton, and the garriſon of ſeven hundred men therein, had already ſurrendered; upon which he returned to the camp.

Tournay beſieged.

WHEN the confederates had fortified their camp, they formed this ſcheme for carrying on the ſiege of Tournay: that the city ſhould be attacked on three ſides; and the ſeveral troops were aſſigned to the charge of their ſeveral parts of the entrenchments. On the 4th day of July they poſted themſelves on their reſpective ſtations. Count Lottum, who commanded the attack on the ſide next the citadel, had for his aſſiſtants the lieutenant-generals Sir Richard Temple, Withers, Fing, and Heyden; and the major-generals Denhoff and Vegalin. On the other ſide, general Schuylenburgh, who commanded that at the Seven Fountains, was aſſiſted by the duke of Argyle and the lieutenant-

nant-generals Wackerbaert and Week, and the major-generals Dalbergh, Hohendorff and Naſſau Wodenbergh; and the baron Fagel, whoſe command was againſt the gate of Marville, had, for his aſſiſtants, the lieutenant-generals Dedem, Oxenſtiern, Spar, and the major-generals Hamilton, Waſſenaer and Keppel. To theſe were alſo added brigadier Sabine and brigadier Primroſe. The reſt of the forces were poſted under arms, in readineſs to face the enemy. As to the order, how every thing was to be done in the ſiege; that, and whatever elſe related to the attacks, was reduced to writing by the generals of the army, and delivered to the ſeveral commanders for the regulation of their conduct. In the mean time the enemy's outworks were ſtrictly watched, and ſtrongly guarded. On the 7th day of July, at night, the vanguard of the beſiegers, with great ſilence, began to break ground, and open the trenches. Two days before this, a party of the French had made two attacks upon the town of Commines, but were repulſed. Three days after, two French captains, who had diſguiſed themſelves like peaſants, in hopes to get into the city, were ſeized in the confederates camp. The rainy ſeaſon retarded the works of the beſiegers; but at the ſame time opened the navigation of the river, which, in the ſhallower places, through the drought had before been interrupted. About this time thirty tranſport-veſſels came up the river into the camp, laden with all ſorts of military ſtores. On the 10th and 12th days of July, the beſieged, ſallying out with great violence, were repulſed by count Lottum with great ſlaughter. On the 14th, while the reſt of the cannon, to the number of a hundred, and ſixty mortars, were getting ready on the ſide of Lottum's and Schuylenburgh's attacks, the conduits of water, and other works of the enemy, were ſo ſhaken by the diſcharge of two batteries of twelve guns each, that the enemy's artillery were diſmounted. On the 16th day, a prodigious diſcharge of ſhot was made, both into the city itſelf and the works. Count Lottum turned his cannon againſt the wall which leads from the city to the citadel; by the continual diſcharge of which, part of the wall ſuddenly fell down, and the reſt of it of courſe fell ſoon after. On the ſide of general Fagel's attack, the workmen were not leſs induſtrious, nor the ſoldiers leſs active and

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intrepid; ſo that Fagel's men made themſelves maſters of the counterſcarp on the 21ſt, and ſet on fire a ſmall breaſtwork on the other ſide of the river, which was of great ſervice to count Lottum, whom the beſieged terribly haraſſed from that quarter. Thoſe on general Fagel's ſide diſcharged bombs and balls from their mortars and braſs cannon, ſo faſt and with ſuch ſucceſs, againſt the enemy, that, for a ſhort time, they were diſabled from making any reſiſtance. At the ſame time a prodigious number of bullets being poured in upon them from the leſſer guns at a diſtance, wounded great numbers of them, and obliged the beſieged to quit thoſe works. About this time, other batteries of cannon, on the ſide of Schuylenburgh's attack, were levelled againſt the half-moon, which they tore almoſt to pieces. So heavy and ſo conſtant a fire was kept up on all ſides, and ſo hot the engagement, that the breach ſeemed already practicable; ſo that, on the 22d, our men could hardly be reſtrained from making an aſſault: but the generals thought fit to batter the wall ſome few days longer to widen the breach. In the mean time the mines were carried on to the very walls of the ditch.

On the 27th day, general Schuylenburgh reſolved to ſtorm the works. And ſuch was the courage of the ſoldiers, and ſuch their preſence of mind, that, when they had mounted the entrenchment, and were ſurrounded on all ſides with dreadful fire from the guns and the Fourneaux, and preſſed with prodigious vollies of ſhot, neither did one man of them quit his rank, nor hardly ſo much as look back; but all of them, with unparalleled ardour and reſolution, aſcended the enemy's works, as if they had been ſtorming the ſkies. At firſt, the beſieged ſtood the aſſault with great firmneſs, preſenting an intrepid front both to our fire and ſword. But, at length, being forced to yield to ſuperior valour, or elſe recalled from the defence of thoſe works, they were ordered to the walls with the reſt of the garriſon, leſt a general aſſault ſhould be made upon the city. This was a bloody day to our forces; nor did their labour ceaſe in the night: for, having made themſelves maſters of thoſe works, they were now to cover themſelves there.

THE next day the enemy crowded together under the wall, and began to ſally out; but our men being now under cover of the works, defended themſelves bravely, and drove the foremoſt of them, with great ſlaughter, back to their own party. During the time of this ſkirmiſh, great diſcharges were made of our artillery, which galled the enemy very ſorely.

MONSIEUR DE SURVILLE, the governor, terrified with this ſlaughter, and labouring under the want both of ſoldiers and all military ſtores, began now to deſpair of the city: and obſerving, that now the breach in the wall was grown larger and wider on the ſide of Schuylenburgh's attack, from whence alſo the approaches were carried on to the entrenchment, and that the ſoldiers were drawn out in order to a general aſſault; therefore, leſt they ſhould ſtorm the city and plunder it, and put the garriſon to the ſword, De Surville hung out the ſignal, and ſending to general Fagel an offer of hoſtages, on the 29th entered into a treaty of capitulation for a ſurrender. On the 30th they agreed upon the articles, and one of the gates was delivered up to the confederates. The next day the French marched out of the city: and Monſ. de Surville, being invited to dine with prince Eugene, was nobly entertained by him; after which he retired into the citadel. and taken.

As all who were employed in this ſiege performed their reſpective duties very punctually, ſo the lord Finch, a noble youth, who went that way to gratify his own inclination, though without his father's conſent, gave ſignal proofs, as a volunteer, of exalted courage.

As ſoon as Tournay was taken, the earl of Albemarle was made governor of it. The ſame day, while the generals were at dinner, a queſtion was ſtarted on what terms Monſ. de Surville ſhould ſurrender the citadel alſo. This affair was referred to brigadier Lalo, and the marquis de Ravignan, who were to ſettle the capitulation on both ſides. They agreed on articles, which were diſpatched to the French king for his ratification: and in the mean time the ſiege was at a ſtand, and the hopes of a ſurrender retarded its progreſs.

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WITHIN a few days the French king returned for anſwer, that he would not ratify the articles ſent to him, unleſs there were a truce made for all Flanders to continue till the 5th of September. This condition ſeemed to the confederates unreaſonable: and when they perceived that the truce was propoſed only that the French might impoſe upon them, or at leaſt protract the time, they were highly provoked, and the ſiege of the citadel went on.

THIS citadel is reckoned the beſt fortified in all Flanders: for all the neighbourhood is full of fourneaux, and other ſubterraneous fire-works; ſo that none can ſet his foot on any place around the city, but what is within the reach of their hidden power. But the confederate ſoldiers were then ſo full of courage, that they undertook it with the greateſt alacrity: for to them, as they were wont at that time to ſing, it was all one, the joyful wreaths of victory to wear, or die in beds of honour. The commanders of the army were nevertheleſs careful that all things ſhould be examined as ſtrictly as poſſible, before any man's life ſhould be expoſed to danger.

IN the mean time the duke de Villars, who was never liable to the ſuſpicion of idleneſs, endeavoured to improve his army by keeping them in exerciſe; reſolving neither to give occaſion to be thought negligent, nor yet by his raſhneſs to prejudice the king's affairs. He was wont now and then to utter bold words, threatening that he would raiſe the ſiege of Tournay. Sometimes he advanced, and ſometimes he retreated again within his entrenchments; nay, he would with an air of great vanity affirm, that the confederates ſhould now find that they had a general to deal with! That for his part he would rather run ſome hazard than be thought too cautious; than which nothing is more apt to lower the ſpirits of a ſoldier. Yet though he talked thus to his own ſoldiers, he thought it nevertheleſs neceſſary to act with the utmoſt caution.

AT this time the French were ſtill under a great terror ever ſince their ill ſucceſs at Oudenard: wherefore the duke de Villars thought it high time to endeavour all he could to revive the drooping ſpirits of

his army, and, by his own preſence, to inſpire freſh courage into his ſoldiers; for the confederates held them then in very great contempt. Villars therefore reſolved to avoid a general engagement, and to try his ſucceſs only in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, that the ſoldiers might put the more confidence in his conduct, and at the ſame time inure themſelves to the exerciſe of arms. Though there were at that time in France ſome imprudent people, who did not ſpare to rail at him for taking ſo much time to raiſe the ſpirits of his ſoldiers; yet the more prudent, who knew the ſtrength, the courage, the knowledge, and experience of the confederates, and the good fortune of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough in war, were of a quite different opinion: for the ſpirits of the French were broken, and their minds dejected; and the affairs of France could no otherwiſe be retrieved, than by cautious delays: for many things happen in war, either by accident, or through the imprudence of the enemy, which could never have been brought about by valour: Villars therefore often drew his forces out of the camp, pretending to go to battle; and in lofty ſtrains diſcourſed of many things, either to inſpire his own ſoldiers with courage, or to diſpirit ours: but at that time there appeared ſo much courage and alacrity in the confederate ſoldiers, that they were not in the leaſt daunted with all Villars's bravadoes, neither durſt their enemies once look them in the face.

When the French king's anſwer about prolonging the truce to the 5th day of September, as already mentioned, was brought to the confederates, they were highly provoked at ſeeing themſelves mocked a ſecond time; and now, without any more loſs of time, the flames of war were kindled afreſh in the ſiege of the citadel: but, in the firſt place, the ground was to be tried with ſpits, and other inſtruments, to find out the mines, which were often double in the ſame place. The workmen diſcovered ſeveral: out of ſome they took up the powder only; others they emptied and filled up; and others, with lighted matches, they turned againſt the enemy themſelves, as they found opportunity.

On the 21ſt day of Auguſt the beſieged played off a large fourneaux, which did very much damage to both parties; for by that exploſion

two

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two of the beſiegers fourneaux, two captains, as many enſigns, and twenty common ſoldiers, were all blown up together: and by the ſame blaſt many ſoldiers of the beſieged, one of their parallels, two branches of the trenches, and as many of the hollow-way, were alſo deſtroyed, with the greateſt part of the wall from the city to the citadel. After this, the workmen reported that they heard the ſound of the enemy in the works under ground. This gave them notice of their danger: wherefore the confederates forthwith ordered twenty of their men thither to diſlodge them. Theſe advanced a good way, but their leader being killed, they were diſheartened, and turned back again. This was immediately ſucceeded by a freſh party; who, by the horrid ſmoke and ſmell of filthy combuſtibles thrown in among them by the enemy, were almoſt ſuffocated, and forced alſo to retire.

On the 22d the beſiegers made it their whole buſineſs to cut through a traverſe, which they had found acroſs the paſſage: but they were again almoſt ſuffocated, and repulſed. The workmen on both ſides often met, and came to a cloſe fight under ground, and the mines of the one party broke into thoſe of the other.

On the 26th a battalion of the beſiegers, who were upon guard, were blown up into the air by the ſpringing of a fourneaux. The reſt, undiſmayed by this ſlaughter, advanced the ſame night on the ſide of Schuylenburgh's attack, as far as the palliſades and the walls: here monſieur de Mey, one of the chief engineers, was mortally wounded.

The next day, ſuch a prodigious multitude of bombs and balls were diſcharged into the citadel, as reſembled the ſky in a ſtar-light night, and even outſhone the moon: ſo that thoſe who were upon the guard, had no place to ſtand in ſafety. This continued like a ſtorm, without ceaſing, for the ſpace of two days.

On the 30th, leſt the citadel ſhould be taken by ſtorm, the count de Surville hung out the ſignal, and deſired an exchange of hoſtages, in order to treat of a capitulation: of which the firſt condition was, for the preſervation of the chapel and images therein dedicated to the ſaints, &c. But the conditions propoſed were rejected by the confederates,

federates, who would not grant any other terms to the beſieged than thoſe of their being made priſoners of war: whereupon the hoſtages were returned on both ſides, and the ſiege was renewed with great vigour. Three days after this, the beſieged being reduced to the laſt extremity, the ſignal was given again, and at laſt they agreed upon theſe conditions, That they ſhould ſurrender as priſoners of war, but ſhould be at liberty to return to France, leaving all their arms, except their ſwords, behind them: provided alſo, that they ſhould not ſerve again in the war, till they ſhould be exchanged for a like number of the confederate ſoldiers: that they ſhould leave their military enſigns at Tournay, and make a faithful diſcovery of all their mines and inſtruments of war. After this agreement, the gates were thrown open to the confederates. The next day they marched out of the citadel. Thus Tournay was reduced under the power and protection of the confederates, on the 3d of September, without any terms made for the chapel and images: all which the French now left to the care of the ſaints themſelves, that in ſo deſperate an extremity they might the better conſult their own ſafety.

The citadel alſo taken.

The ſummer being now almoſt ſpent, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, finding they had no time to ſpare from the main work they had yet to do, decamped on the ſame day, and leaving a party of men, under the earl of Albemarle, for levelling their works, made the beſt of their way towards Mons, in Hainault. The day before the prince of Heſſe, who had been detached with four thouſand foot, and ſixty ſquadrons of horſe, to take poſſeſſion of the enemy's lines between the rivers Haine and Sambre, marched thither with all ſpeed. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene paſſed the Scheldt in two bodies; and having by regular marches reunited their forces, they made a ſtand at Havre.

The duke de Villars, knowing the prince of Heſſe's deſign, in order to ſecure the lines, ſent the chevalier de Luxemburgh thither in all haſte. After him another was diſpatched with a ſelect detachment: and Villars himſelf followed theſe with his whole army. But yet the prince of Heſſe made ſuch ſpeed, that he outſtripped them all: nor did the

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the French think fit to wait for his arrival; for three regiments of dragoons who were poſted there, terrified at the prince of Heſſe's approach, left the lines in a hurry, and fled into the next towns.

As ſoon as the duke of Marlborough was maſter of the French lines, he ſent his forces into the neighbourhood of St. Gillians, whereby the confederates became poſſeſſed of all the avenues to the city of Mons.

When the duke de Villars received intelligence that his ſoldiers had quitted their lines, he marched thither with all ſpeed, with a deſign to fall upon the prince of Heſſe. Upon this the confederates advanced to the Belian hills; and there, underſtanding that Villars had not yet paſſed the ſtreights of Waſme, and that when the confederates moved into the plain his deſign was to throw ſupplies into Mons, they decamped, and drew up their men in order of battle. In the mean time prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough went up to a riſing ground to take a view of the enemy, and of the ground between the two camps. The duke de Villars alſo did the like, as if they had all been equally determined to come to an engagement. The confederate ſoldiers were reſtrained from fighting with great difficulty.

Villars marching with his army from one ſide to the other, ſeemed to ours to be making marches and counter-marches only as a feint: but, when our generals perceived that thoſe motions of the enemy, back and forwards on the left, were intended to cover the march of their right wing through the woods, they advanced towards the enemy, and led their army paſt Villars's left. There they continued on both ſides cannonading each other till the evening. The whole neighbourhood is ſo very woody, as to be very unfit for action.

At this time the marſhal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp, and had an interview by the way with the duke de Villars: not that he was to command him as the ſenior marſhal, but only as being an old ſoldier, now paſt any hard ſervice, to aſſiſt him with his counſels, and to do whatever was becoming the dignity of either for their king's ſervice.

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As the French would not fight on equal terms, the confederates were under a neceſſity of lying there all night under arms, having no opportunity to march; nor did they ſend a party to look out for a proper place to encamp in. The next day the generals neither thought fit to fight the French, nor would ſuffer the tents to be pitched, that the ſoldiers might be the more ready to follow the enemy, or to fight them; and the horſemen were alſo commanded to continue in arms, and to keep their horſes ready ſaddled and bridled all that night.

THE French were encamped near the towns of Taiſniere and Malplaquet, which were covered with the woods of Doura and Blaugies on the right and left: and in their rear they had fields full of buſhes and hedges, very fit to ſecure them of a retreat. They had alſo examined all the defects of their entrenchments, and ſpent all the night in fortifying their front. The next morning early they began again to work on the ſame, and ſo continued two days; while the confederates, without making any attempt, were drawing their forces together, and waited for the reſt, which were on their march, to join them from the camp before Tournay: for theſe reaſons they did not attack the French the firſt day, a conduct which many ſeverely cenſured.

THE confederates camp extended on the left to Blaquiere, and on the right to Sart, and the centre was at Blaregnies. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene having conſulted the field deputies of the ſtates-general, reſolved immediately to give the enemy battle. Monſieur van Goſlinga was the only one of thoſe deputies who, by his courage, promoted this affair: the reſt were unwilling to conſent to it, leſt they ſhould be thought too laviſh of the blood of the ſoldiers: "for," ſaid they, "what hopes can ye have of forcing a camp ſo ex-"ceedingly fortified both by art and nature?" However, in the council of war, it was reſolved to give the enemy battle: and, on the 12th of September, by break of day, the generals drew up the army; and riding along the ſeveral ranks, gave the neceſſary orders for fighting, and inſpired the ſoldiers with courage. The ſoldiers, on

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their part, expreſſed a general alacrity, and entreated their commanders to make uſe of the preſent opportunity, and to truſt to their fidelity and courage.

Battle of Malplaquet.

WITH a loud huzza, therefore, and the diſcharge of all their cannon, the ſignal was given for battle: the attack was made in three places, and the fight maintained with incredible bravery on both ſides. The duke of Argyle firſt led up the Britiſh forces through the woods againſt the enemy, on the right of the main battle: after he had received the enemy's fire, he fell upon their entrenchment, and cut through and overthrew them and their works together: then purſuing thoſe who fled to their ſecond entrenchment, he vanquiſhed and drove them out of that alſo; and, after that, puſhing through the midſt of the enemy, and trampling down all before him, he ſtopped not till he came to their third entrenchment, where he cut through them again, and bravely maintained his ground: but in the other two places the confederates were repulſed.

THE confederates, however, unexpectedly returned with greater courage, and attacked the entrenchment of the camp: but though the ſituation of the place did not afford them a paſſage, they ſurmounted it at laſt by their courage and the remembrance of their former victories, and drove the enemy back to the ſecond entrenchment: but, as the Germans had left an opportunity for thoſe runaways to rally again, the French, with ſome freſh reinforcements, returned out of the trenches to the fight. However, as they were much weaker than the Germans, and had maintained a fight two hours with great bravery, the French, quite ſpent with long fighting, and fainting under their wounds, turned their backs, and left their poſts to the Germans. Being now beaten out of the field, they retreated to their third entrenchment, and there refreſhed themſelves: prince Eugene obſerving this, immediately took poſſeſſion of that entrenchment which was left unguarded, and flew to ſuccour the Dutch on the left, who were preſſed very hard; leaving his horſe to ſupport his own party, if they ſhould happen to be oppreſſed. Here the battle was a long time doubtful,

and

and it was not eaſy to diſcern which ſide had the advantage; becauſe they who were repulſed, as both ſides were in their turn, found a ſafe retreat for a long time among their own horſe.

THE confederates cannon did great execution upon the enemy, and were of ſpecial ſervice at this critical juncture: for a ſlight touch of a cannon ball ſo wounded the duke de Villars in the knee, that he was forced to be carried out of the field.

THE Dutch infantry were cut off almoſt to a man: they had made an obſtinate reſiſtance on the left wing, and fought ſo, that when their firſt lines fell, the next advanced into their rank. The duke of Marlborough ſent lieutenant-general Withers to their relief. Prince Eugene perceiving their admirable valour to be in danger of being borne down by the multitude of their enemy, and that Withers was intercepted, haſtened thither with a party of his own troops, and with ſword in hand cut his way through the midſt of the enemy, to their ſuccour: and when he came up to them, diſmounting his horſe, he charged through the thickeſt of the enemy. At the ſame time three regiments of Daniſh horſe, which had been poſted as a rear guard to the foot, and had not been yet engaged, were called up thither by the duke of Marlborough. This relief gave new life as it were to the Dutch; who now, making a freſh attack, mounted an entrenchment twelve feet high: whereupon victory began to declare in favour of the confederates, and the right wing of the enemy was cut off from their left. This cauſed a terrible ſlaughter; and the Dutch, cloſing their ranks, drove the enemy from both their entrenchments, and put them to rout. And now they made but a weak reſiſtance: for being by this time thrown into diſorder, whatever parties came up to join them, did but add to their confuſion, and increaſe at once their fears and their danger: from thence they fled to the neighbouring woods, in order to form themſelves again.

AT the ſame time the Britiſh horſe, as well as the earl of Orkney, with ſome battalions of foot, advancing on the right wing, attacked the third entrenchment, and drove the enemy, who were drawn up in

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the plain of Bleron, through the woods on the other ſide: but the ground was ſo diſadvantageous, that ſome of our ſquadrons were put into diſorder by the French king's houſehold troops. The duke of Marlborough obſerving this, haſtened thither; and in a ſhort ſpeech, exhorted them to remember their wonted bravery, and not to loſe their ſhare of the victory which was already won. This was no ſooner ſaid than the prince of Wirtemberg rallied his troops, and led them up again to the battle. Here again the fight grew very fierce: at length the fortune of war changing, all the French in general turned their backs, and fled through a little wood to their foot, much hurt and torn among the buſhes. Thus the enemy being put to flight on all ſides, quitted the field of battle.

When the confederates had taken poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp, which was ſo ſtrongly entrenched that it looked like a well fortified town, they ſent out eighteen ſquadrons to clear the woods; who, finding no enemy there, proceeded onward till they came to an opening. There they perceived the French troops flying through the fields towards Maubeuge, and ſome regiments drawn up behind the woods, to make good the retreat of the reſt. The marſhal de Boufflers had given orders for their retreat in three columns: the confederates purſued the enemy in their flight ſo far as Quievrain, with very little ſlaughter. The foreſt of Ardenne, which extends far and wide through the country of Beauvois, was a great ſhelter to them in their flight. Some of the enemy marched off with all ſpeed towards Maubeuge, others to Condé and Valenciennes: but ſuch a panic fear had ſeized them, that they marched both night and day, leaving many of their wounded men behind them at Maubeuge.

When night came on, the confederates could not purſue them any farther, on account of their wounded ſoldiers and the care of burying their dead. Beſides, they knew that all the roads were beſet, and that the horſemen might be eaſily ſurrounded in the night.

The duke de Villars being, as I have already mentioned, grievouſly wounded in the knee, was forced to quit the field in the heat of the battle:

battle: but prince Eugene, who was wounded ſlightly, was detained no longer than to have his wound bound up. Divine Providence, which is preſent in times of danger, and rules the ſtorm of war, preſerved the duke of Marlborough ſafe on that dreadful day, as well as the duke of Argyle, whoſe coat is ſaid to have been cut and ſhot through in many places. General Webb alſo received a wound in his loins, of which he was lame a long time afterwards.

THE brigadier Lalo, Sir Thomas Pendergraſs, colonel Rivet, lieutenant-colonel Arundel, with many captains and ſubalterns, and other brave men, fighting valiantly on that day, in the fields of Taiſniere, were there ſlain. Colonel Cranſton, in the act of ſolemnly devoting himſelf to God, upon his bended knees, was killed by a cannon-ball. James Campbell, the earl of Stair's lieutenant, gave proofs of his ſingular valour in view of both armies. For while the victory was yet doubtful, he ruſhed with great fury againſt the enemy with a party of his men, and cutting down all before him, opened a way through the midſt of the enemy, and returned the ſame way to his friends. The bravery of this youth very much encouraged the confederates, and diſheartened the enemy, who were ſo much terrified, that none of them afterwards was ever willing to come in the way of a white horſe, which was the colour of his.

MONSIEUR VAN GOSLINGA alſo, one of the Dutch deputies, over and above the duty intruſted to him by the ſtates, was obſerved that day to rally their troops when diſordered in the abſence of their commanders, and to lead them up again to the battle, giving ſignal proofs of his wonted bravery. This gave ſome people occaſion to blame him, as they did alſo the generals for venturing a battle, becauſe the office of a deputy was different from that of a general: but as his action was crowned with ſucceſs, others applauded him both for his courage and military conduct. In this battle there were reckoned of the confederates ſix thouſand killed, and nine thouſand wounded; of the French ſeven thouſand killed, and ten thouſand wounded. But their loſs was ſtill greater; for there were a vaſt number of deſerters.

Though

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Though this victory coſt us dear, yet, within the memory of man to this day, there never was greater courage ſhewn by ſoldiers, nor wiſer conduct diſplayed by commanders, than by thoſe of all the confederated nations on that day. Nay, even the French, though vanquiſhed, acquitted themſelves greatly beyond expectation in this battle. Many of the confederates wounded men, whom the ſurgeons had deſpaired of, afterwards recovered. Very few of the enemy were taken in battle. Their wounded men, who were left at Maubeuge and other towns, fell into the hands of the confederates the next day. Theſe, through the clemency of the generals, had liberty to return into France, on condition that, as ſoon as they ſhould be healed, they ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war in Holland, according to an engagement made between major-general Cadogan and the chevalier de Luxemburgh, concerning theſe priſoners and the burial of the dead. In this battle a great number of the enemy's cannon and colours were taken.

Mons beſieged;

THE time for action in the field being now far ſpent, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough found they had no time to loſe, and but little to remain in camp. They therefore inveſted the city of Mons, according to their former reſolution, having firſt detached a body of horſe to ſecure the avenues, and taken the town of St. Gillian's. The camp of the confederates was between Havre and Belian.

ON the 25th day of September 1709, all things being in readineſs for the ſiege, the confederates began to break ground. Two thouſand workmen were employed in this buſineſs in the neighbouring fields. They determined to carry on the ſiege by two attacks, having a ſelect body of troops to defend the workmen, and to aſſault the entrenchments.

ON the 26th, a great number of the beſieged ſallied out of the city upon our men, and put colonel Hill's regiment in the trenches into diſorder. The Pruſſians, obſerving this, came preſently to their aſſiſtance, and drove the enemy back into the city. All this while the fight was very ſharp in the trenches, and that with various fortune.

On the 30th, the heavy cannon were brought up to the camp from Bruſſels; of which thirty-two were planted againſt the works on one ſide, and fifteen on the other. As ſoon as theſe were got in readineſs, the beſiegers began immediately to batter the walls.

On the firſt of October they gained poſſeſſion of the half-moon; and, having carried on their approaches towards the entrenchment the ſeveral days following, they made an aſſault on the 8th on the covered way. The enemy making but little reſiſtance, the confederates became maſters of that work, with the loſs of only ſixty men. Then they brought up their cannon thither, to play upon another half-moon againſt the rampart of the wall.

On the 16th, having made a breach, they mounted another half-moon at Havre-gate, and took it with very little loſs. At the ſame time they aſſaulted ſuch another work at the gate of Bertamont; which they took without any oppoſition. So weak a defence raiſed the ſpirits of the confederates, who now levelled their cannon againſt the walls. And when they had battered the angle of the rampart for ſeveral days, and there was a breach made in the wall wide enough for an aſſault, they drew up their forces on the 20th, in ſight of the enemy, with all things neceſſary to mount the breach, and ſtorm the city. Monſ. de Grimaldi, the governor, on ſeeing this, hung out a flag as a ſignal that he would ſurrender the city. Hoſtages being exchanged, the gate of Nimy was delivered up to the beſiegers. As ſoon as the capitulation was ſettled, the French evacuated the city on the 23d of October, and were conducted to Maubeuge, and the Bavarians to Namur: for the French king had, from the beginning of the war, granted the ſole right of placing garriſons in that city to the elector of Bavaria. Count Dhona was, by the confederates, appointed governor of Mons, and ten thouſand men were left with him for a garriſon there; as, on account of the rainy ſeaſon, they could neither repair the ruins of the fortifications, nor ſufficiently level their own works. and taken.

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THE winter now coming on apace, the army was ſent into winter-quarters, and the officers into ſeveral counties to raiſe recruits, which were now very much wanted; and leſt the confederates forces ſhould be unexpectedly attacked in their winter-quarters, or expoſed to any diſorders, the ſeveral governors were commanded to reſide in their reſpective ſtations.

THE duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene went to Holland to hold a conference there. On their arrival, being admitted to an audience, they put the ſtates-general in mind both of their danger and duty. In caſe a ſafe and honourable peace could not be obtained of the French king, they exhorted them to provide forage, recruit their forces, and to have all things at hand ready for the war, that ſo they might be able to take the field early enough to prevent the enemy in the enſuing ſpring.

WHEN the conference ended, prince Eugene, paſſing along the Rhine, went by the way of Duſſeldorp to Vienna. The duke of Marlborough returned to London. Between him and the duke of Argyle there was at that time a ſecret umbrage. Wherefore Argyle, and many other gallant men, who, in the courſe of the war, had performed the moſt ſignal ſervice to their country, and who were alſo at enmity with Marlborough, had returned to England before the duke. And the duke of Argyle had obtained of the queen the order of the garter. Envious of the duke of Marlborough's glory, he reflected upon his illuſtrious actions, blamed his counſels, and found fault with his whole conduct; than which nothing at that time was more acceptable to her majeſty.

War between the Danes and Swedes.

THE king of Denmark, having made a ſecret league with the czar of Muſcovy, proclaimed war againſt the king of Sweden, on very ſlender grounds, while that prince was in the fartheſt parts of Europe, among the Turks and Tartars; and making a deſcent upon Schonen with twelve thouſand men, while the Swedes neither ſuſpected ſuch an invaſion, nor were provided for a defence againſt it, reduced the garriſons there, and ſoon forced the whole province to ſubmit to his obedience

obedience and juriſdiction. After his Daniſh majeſty had been in poſſeſſion of this territory for many months, and had begun to conſider it as part of his own dominions, the ſtates of Sweden, raiſing forces on the frontiers, attacked the Danes in their turn, and routed them. As the Danes had no place of refuge in that country, nor could find means to return home for want of ſhipping to tranſport them acroſs the ſeas, it happened, as many people had foreſeen, that almoſt their whole army was cut off by the Swedes. The only refuge under theſe difficulties, which was left to the few who fled, was ſome Dutch merchant ſhips, then lying on the coaſt, whom they prevailed with to take them on board, and to land them on their own ſhore. Without this, all the Danes, to a man, had periſhed there, or fallen into the hands of their enemies.

THE Swedes were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that they would not confine themſelves within the bounds of their own country, but raiſed new armies, and levied money for the fleet; and now, ſeeing the fortune of war changed, as if it was never liable to change again, they reſolved to make war againſt the Muſcovites, the Poles, and the Danes all at once, rather than not revenge paſt injuries. In this diſpoſition to war and revenge, they were encouraged by the authority and the arts of the French king.

THE German princes indeed, who had been friends to the king of Sweden's authority, earneſtly perſuaded the Swedes not to engage in a war with ſo many powerful kings, at a time when their own king was abſent. The elector of Hanover, who had before taken as much care of the king of Sweden's dominions as of his own, diſſuaded them from war; and now prevailed with the confederates, that the king of Sweden's dominions in Germany ſhould continue neutral, till the king ſhould return into his own kingdom. Nothing could have been wiſhed for more happy than this treaty of neutrality. And men of judgment were of opinion, that both ſides ought to abate ſomewhat of their obſtinacy, ſince they were now equally prepared for war. But when this treaty of neutrality was carried to the king of Sweden, many months afterwards, he refuſed and rejected it. His forces,

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therefore, marched into Germany, and the war broke out in Pomerania. But he himſelf having come to an agreement with the Turks, continued ſtill in the fartheſt parts of Europe. It was eaſy to foreſee, that his counſels could not end in any thing but his own ruin, and the involving all Europe in the flames of war.

At this time the lord Raby, the queen of England's ambaſſador to the king of Pruſſia, made a tour into Italy for the gratification of his own curioſity, without any inſtructions from the queen, for which he was, very generally, highly cenſured.

There were now great diſſentions among the Dutch about the diſpoſal of the poſts vacated in the late battle; and ſome of the burgomaſters and lords of towns in North Holland had ſecretly agreed among themſelves to confer them on their own relations, againſt the will of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam. Therefore, in order to put a ſtop to theſe intrigues of private perſons, the ſtates-general left the power of filling up the places of the dead, to the reſpective generals and commanders of their forces. But this remedy did not yet redreſs the grievance. For as ſoon as the generals were veſted with authority to beſtow thoſe preferments, they promoted their own relations and friends to the vacant poſts and honours. This raiſed many diſputes in the army about places and promotions. And general Murray, whoſe fair dealing had never before been called in queſtion, was now greatly reflected on. And others alſo incurred the diſpleaſure of the ſtates, for having promoted their own relations and others, before men of greater merit, contrarily to the courſe of ſucceſſion in the army. For this method of promotion was ſo widely different from the cuſtom of the Dutch, and their military diſcipline, that the ſtates repented of the indulgence they had granted to their commanders: and, in order to preſerve the rules of their republic, and maintain their military ordinances, they now publiſhed an act of the ſtates, prohibiting any thing of the like kind for the future; and taking care that a juſt order of advancement in the army ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

The lord viſcount Townſhend, ambaſſador from the queen of Great Britain to the ſtates-general, than whom no man was more moderate in private

private affairs, nor in public more ſplendid and fortunate, was exceedingly preſſed by the ſtates, who were very ſolicitous about the places which were to be aſſigned to them as a barrier, to concert meaſures with them for the ſecurity of their frontiers, and to put the laſt hand to that work. This the ambaſſador knew to be a more expeditious way to peace than to his own fame. But when he could no longer reſiſt their importunities, he at length complied with their requeſt, and, by the queen's command, entered into a treaty with them for that purpoſe.

THE emperor was extremely averſe to this; wherefore the duke of Malborough alſo ſeemed in public to waive it, and delayed it from time to time for ſome years, leſt it ſhould be the means of diſſolving the ancient friendſhip among the confederates. But the Dutch ſaid, they were not able to bear ſuch burdens for the expence of beſieging towns; and that, unleſs the frontiers were now ſettled, and the fortified towns by name delivered up to them, they could not promiſe, but their people would be bent upon a peace. For the French king endeavoured, by all means, to draw off the Dutch from their engagements with the other confederates; and they had entered into a private treaty with him about ſettling the articles. All this the penſionary Heinſius faithfully communicated to the lord Townſhend, and the reſt of the ambaſſadors of the confederates. For the ſtates never intended to violate the league.

THE chief points treated of between the lord Townſhend and the ſtates, related either to the ſettling the commerce in Flanders upon a juſt and equal footing between the two maritime nations, or to the common ſafety of England and Holland. While they were employed in this treaty, the lord Townſhend ſaid, "It ought to be laid down "as a fundamental principle on both ſides to conſult the common in-"tereſt of both nations, and with equal readineſs to undertake the mu-"tual ſervice of both." He propoſed to them alſo, to make themſelves guarantees of the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain as by law eſtabliſhed, and to defend the ſame by force of arms, if there ſhould be occaſion. This demand he thought very ſuitable to his office, and this the rather, that there was now an act of the Britiſh parliament made

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for that purpoſe. But the Dutch were apprehenſive, leſt this might in time give offence to their own people. They had not long ſince refuſed to the lord Halifax to engage themſelves in that matter. When Halifax was very preſſing for it two years before, it is ſaid, they had prevented that by putting another previous queſtion: and they demanded of him alſo, that the queen of Great Britain ſhould engage herſelf on their behalf, that they ſhould never hereafter have a ſtadtholder impoſed upon them. The lord Townſhend inſiſted, that there was now no neceſſity for ſuch a precaution. But, ſince they were of opinion that there was need of it, he thought it but juſt that a due regard ſhould be had to the common danger and ſafety. He added many arguments concerning the common ſafety: and, in order the more ſtrongly to confirm the friendſhip between the two nations, he ſuppoſed no bond could be more ſacred, than to conclude ſuch a guaranty as he had propoſed.

THOUGH the Dutch declared, that they had no diſaffection to the houſe of Hanover, yet they did not look upon themſelves as judges of this controverſy among great princes; and therefore they would have excuſed themſelves from intermeddling in it, till they were more perfectly aſſured how the queen of Great Britain ſtood affected. He replied, That matter was already adjuſted; and that the act of parliament ſufficiently ſhewed the inclination of the whole kingdom. And ſuch was the lord Townſhend's intereſt among the Dutch, and particularly with the penſionary Heinſius, that they entered into the guaranty; undertaking to promote the ſucceſſion of the crown as by law eſtabliſhed, and to defend the ſame by arms, if there ſhould be occaſion.

As to the ſettlement of the frontiers, in the firſt place, it was agreed, that the port of Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, becauſe it lies over againſt England, and is oppoſite to the mouth of the Thames; and that all the ſluices, banks, moles, citadel, fortifications, and works belonging to that port, ſhould be levelled with the ground, and utterly demoliſhed. And farther, that the cities and towns of Liſle, Furnes, Tournay, Conde, Vallenciennes, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur, Liers, Hall, Ghent, Dendermond, taken from the French, ſhould

Barrier treaty.

ſhould be delivered up to the Dutch as a barrier, with a power to them to place garriſons in them; ſaving nevertheleſs to king Charles III. the right of ſovereignty therein, to whom the adminiſtration of all their civil affairs, and the ſupreme juriſdiction over the citizens, was to be reſerved entire; except only, that the Dutch ſhould receive the public produce of the fields belonging to thoſe towns, towards the maintenance of their garriſons. But ſince thoſe taxes would not be ſufficient for that ſervice, and it was not reaſonable that the Dutch ſhould, at their own expence, maintain garriſons which were kept up for ſecuring the common tranquillity of all Europe, it was therefore agreed, that king Charles ſhould pay the farther yearly ſum of one million of livres for the ſervice of thoſe garriſons, out of his treaſury of Flanders. And laſtly, that the commerce of Flanders ſhould be carried on at certain and equal rates by both nations, ſo that the Britiſh ſubjects ſhould have an equal right to every thing there with the Dutch; who ſhould neither then, nor at any time afterwards, take or receive from others any greater advantage than the Britons ſhould alſo have an equal ſhare of.

THIS treaty, containing nothing but what the United Provinces had before acquired a juſt title to, either by the twelve years truce made in the year 1609, or by the peace concluded at Munſter in 1748, and what was alſo thought to be agreeable to juſtice and equity, and the conſtitutions of this kingdom, and, in ſhort, to which the queen herſelf had before given her aſſent, her ambaſſador ſigned and ſealed on the 29th day of October 1709. And the duke of Marlborough did not diſapprove of this treaty, though he excuſed himſelf from ſubſcribing; and did not openly intermeddle in it.

THIS year the following medals were ſtruck in England to commemorate the proſperous ſucceſſes in the campaign abroad:

I.

TORNACO EXPUGNATO
MDCCIX.

II.

II.

CONCORDIA ET VIRTUTE
GALLIS AD TANNIERES DEVICTIS
AUG. XXXI. MDCCIX.

III.

MONTIBUS IN HANNONIA CAPTIS
MDCCIX.

THIS year a pacquet boat, returning from Holland into England, was ſo ſhaken by a tempeſt, that ſhe ſprung a leak, and was in the utmoſt extremity of danger in the midſt of her courſe. When all the mariners and paſſengers were in the laſt diſtreſs, and the pumps had been long worked for carrying off the water, but all to little purpoſe; by a good providence the hole filled, and was ſtopped, ſeemingly of itſelf. This ſtruck them all with wonder and aſtoniſhment. No ſooner did they get ſafe into port than they examined the ſhip, to ſee what was the matter; and found a fiſh ſticking in the very hole, which had been driven into it by the force of the tempeſt! Without this wonderful providence they muſt all have periſhed in a moment.

A wonderful providence.

THE pope's tribunal in Spain being ſuppreſſed, and his revenues there ſequeſtered by the king's authority, the duke de Medina Sidona gave orders to the nuncio, in purſuance of king Philip's commands, to depart the kingdom, and to make no ſtay till he reached the frontiers. The nuncio obeyed, and was conducted by the king's guard to the frontiers of Spain: and much about the ſame time king Philip proteſted againſt all that had paſſed between the pope and the emperor as a mere nullity. The form of the proteſt was carried to the datary's office at Rome by the duke d'Uzeda, the Spaniſh ambaſſador: who thereupon immediately left the city, and retired to Genoa, as if he had been obnoxious to the pope: but he is ſaid to have been gained over by the emperor's preſents and promiſes, to betray the affairs of Spain at Rome; and is at this time one of the emperor's penſioners.

IN

In this proteſt, made by the duke d'Uzeda, king Philip is ſtyled the moſt dutiful, obedient, ſubmiſſive, and devoted ſon of the church. "But," he ſays, "he cannot bear theſe injuries at the pope's hands, "without being guilty of high treaſon againſt the divine majeſty, and "incurring the hatred of all mankind;" and at laſt he "appeals from "the pope, in ſervitude to the pope, when he ſhall be reſtored to his "liberty."

However, theſe conteſts which king Philip had with the pope, were compoſed by the French king's prudence, or rather ſuperſtition; which ſeems almoſt natural to old people, and is apt to affect perſons, otherwiſe piouſly diſpoſed, with a narrowneſs of ſoul.

King Philip was now in great want of corn, and every thing elſe in Spain. The count d'Aguilar was made general of his forces in Arragon; while the marquis de Bedmar commanded thoſe on the frontiers of Portugal, aſſiſted with a light army of Walloons and Spaniards, under the command of the marquis de Bay, in Eſtremadura. The marquis, in order to draw the Portugueze to a battle, gave orders for a general forage in the corn-fields of Campo Major; which being reported to the earl of Galway and Fonteira, the general of the Portugueze, they croſſed the river, and drew up their forces in order to attack the enemy in flank. But this deſign miſcarried: for the Portugueze did not ſtand the charge of the Spaniſh cavalry, but ran away. The earl of Galway ordered the Britiſh troops to advance, in order to ſupport them. Theſe troops fought bravely, but without ſucceſs: for three regiments of them being cut off from their main body, quitted the field, and retired to a neighbouring caſtle; where they were briſkly attacked the next day, and being deſtitute of all proviſions, were forced to ſurrender. The earl of Galway brought the reſt back to the camp, with the loſs of ten pieces of cannon and twelve hundred men ſlain.

This loſs of the confederates gave the Spaniards great joy, who boaſted of it every where, as much as if they had obtained a great victory by their own proper valour, without any aſſiſtance from the French.

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French. But this joy of the Spaniards was ſoon interrupted by the ſhew which the French king made of a deſire of peace; and king Philip himſelf, on the receipt of an expreſs from France relating thereto, was greatly dejected. The French king plainly exhorted his grandſon to abdicate the kingdom, and recalled his own troops out of Spain. Upon this king Philip aſſembled the ſtates of Spain for their advice.

In Arragon the ſummer was ſpent without any conſiderable action. Count Staremberg having long waited for freſh ſupplies out of England and Italy, advanced at laſt to the Segra, and paſſed that river without any oppoſition from the count d'Aguilar, or monſieur de Beſons: for at that time there was a great diſſention between them. In the mean time Staremberg reduced the town of Balaguer, without granting any terms to the thouſand ſoldiers who were in garriſon there. King Philip thereupon haſtened thither in perſon; but, after making ſome ſtay in that camp without doing any thing, he ſent his troops into winter-quarters, and returned to Madrid.

Soon after this the French king ſent orders to withdraw his forces from Spain, that he might make the fairer ſhew of his deſire of peace. In obedience to theſe monſieur de Beſons, whom king Philip had made governor of Arragon, ſounded a march, commanded the cannons to be returned into France, and himſelf at the head of the French troops, retreated out of the dominions of Spain. But he had not gone far, when king Philip deſired him to return back to his aſſiſtance, as if ſome great diſaſter had ſuddenly befallen him. Concerning this again, the French king diſpatched an ambaſſador to king Philip.

After the miſcarriage of the count de Merci, the Germans on the Upper Rhine neither thought fit to put any more confidence in the duke of Savoy, nor to undertake any thing of themſelves, more than to defend their own frontiers; and therefore they drew lines to prevent the French from making any ſudden irruption. The elector of Hanover, diſheartened at the loſs ſuſtained by Merci's raſhneſs, refuſed

fuſed afterwards to take upon himſelf the command of the army on the Rhine: for Merci was a creature of prince Eugene's, and, as it were, his pupil. Eugene was not only allied to the duke of Savoy by blood and friendſhip, but reſembled him alſo in his carriage: and though they were in public at great variance, yet their diſcords were by many people ſuſpected, and ſeemed ſometimes to be a perfect harmony; eſpecially in their march into Provence, and the ſiege of Toulon. This year the duke of Savoy, under various pretences, impoſed divers taxes on his ſubjects in Savoy, and ſtruck more terror into the citizens of Geneva than into the French; deſigning with the money he had raiſed to ſerve himſelf, inſtead of the common cauſe.

In thoſe times, ſo dangerous to the French, Lewis XIV. applied his whole ſtudy to the arts of negociation. The king of Denmark having, from curioſity and for pleaſure, made a tour to Venice, Lewis made his addreſſes to his Daniſh majeſty and the Venetians, through whoſe mediation he endeavoured to procure a peace.

When the marquis de Torcy returned from Holland, he diſcourſed with ſignor Lodovico Mocenigo, the Venetian ambaſſador, and propoſed to him that the republic of Venice ſhould diſpatch an ambaſſador to Holland, as a thing that would be well becoming the catholic profeſſion, and moſt acceptable to the king. Signor Mocenigo ſent advice of this to the ſenate, who not only gratified the French king, but nominated and appointed ſignor Foſcarini, a noble Venetian, who was in the adminiſtration of their government, to undertake that employment. Foſcarini being a man of great reputation for his parts and eloquence, ſeemed to the French king to be the fitteſt perſon for his purpoſe, becauſe he was his penſioner; and had long ſupported the French king's intereſt in the ſenate. On his undertaking this office he was promiſed, in the French king's name, the purple and a cardinal's hat.

About this time ſignor Mocenigo, the doge of Venice, died; and ſignor Cornelio was choſen into his place. His ſon, who was ambaſ-

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ſador to the queen of England, was recalled from his embaſſy: for, according to the conſtitution of that republic, the ſons of the doge are not allowed to bear any office or employment. Inſtead of Cornelio, ſignor Grimani was appointed ambaſſador at the court of London; but ſignor Vandramino, the ſecretary, was intruſted with the care of the public affairs, with which the intereſts of France were but too cloſely united, till ſignor Grimani ſhould arrive there. But monſieur de Torcy earneſtly preſſed the Venetians, that Vandramino might remain at the Hague, at leaſt to render the Dutch more inclinable towards a peace. At length ſignor Seb. Foſcarini arrived at that place in the month of October, and ſecretly managed the French king's buſineſs in Holland. I have already ſhewn how the ſeeds of diſcord ſown in England from the very beginning of the confederate war, had ſprung up and increaſed by new invented party-names, and far-fetched arguments. But they were now ſo ripened and improved to ſuch heats, through the miſdemeanours of a few eccleſiaſtics, whom their baſe deſigns had united among themſelves, that the times began to grow ſo hot as to endanger innocent perſons, and even to threaten the whole kingdom with the flames of civil war. The deſire, the endeavour, and the ambition of many of them was to overturn the government: nay, thoſe prieſts, who by their profeſſion are bound to pour out their tears, their prayers, their lives and fortunes for the good of their country, were now ſo far from ſtudying to quench the fires of diſſention, that they endeavoured to foment the hatred of the people in England by ſurmiſes, diſcourſes, and libels; and in Ireland, to exaſperate them all they poſſibly could by letters: for ſuch men ſtroll all about the country, and even croſs the very ſeas too, on religious pretences, chiefly to gratify their own ambition and avarice.

At firſt there were but few of theſe, and thoſe few nonjurors; of whom there could be no reaſon to complain, provided they lived peaceably. But afterwards, a reſentment of the refuſal of promotion to biſhop Stillingfleet, and of other dignities to other perſons, provoked ſome of the jurors, who had profeſſed obedience to the preſent government, to grow audacious, without regard to the ſolemn oaths of a new allegiance;

giance; and thus they became at once preſumptuous, fooliſh, and impious. Theſe men growing bolder by impunity and ſucceſs, eluded their oaths, and inſtilled the poiſon of diſaffection and ſedition into others: ſo that at length the diſtemper which had ſeized them, diffuſed its contagion among almoſt the whole body of the inferior clergy; and many ſubmitted to the queen with no other deſign than by taking the oaths, to have the better opportunity to deceive her.

Among theſe, ſome, for want of better employment, began to diſturb the public peace, and to interrupt the public proſperity: for they whoſe livelihood depends upon fortune more than merit, generally love to fiſh in troubled waters, and look upon a juſt government and a mild adminiſtration as moſt injurious to them, and oppoſite to their views: and as the buſtle in great aſſemblies ſomewhat reſembles a tide, ſo the humours of the multitude began now to boil up like a pot upon the fire.

Such a perſon as is here deſcribed was Mr. Francis Higgins, an Iriſh clergyman; who, having frequented the company of women from his youth, began now to work them up to madneſs, out of zeal for the church: for it is the common fault of churchmen, to make uſe of religion as a cloak for their ſins. Higgins walking about the ſtreets and public places, ſometimes in the ſuburbs, ſometimes in the city, made lamentable outcries of the dangerous ſtate of the church; but uttered not a word againſt luſt, debauchery, or covetouſneſs: and in ſeveral churches he often made the danger of the church the ſubject of his ſeditious ſermons to the people. What a fierce people, this brawler was wont to ſay, we have to do with! What ſad times we live in! And he would ſtun the ears of his hearers with all kinds of injurious reproaches againſt good men of all ranks, and particularly againſt the miniſters of ſtate: but it is certain whatever he uttered, was to very little or no purpoſe.

Another trumpeter of ſedition was Dr. Henry Sacheverell, a man of uncommon impudence, and whoſe greateſt excellency conſiſted in

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his voice. This man preaching before the city of London at St. Paul's cathedral on the 5th day of November 1709, caſt ſeveral oblique reproaches upon the memory of queen Elizabeth, and many other illuſtrious names, and particularly endeavoured to expoſe the miniſters of queen Anne to the hatred of the multitude.

His ſermons were in ſome places curtailed and ſhort, in others full of long-winded periods. However, this ſermon was not wanting in meaſure, though it was more full of words than material arguments: for, taking it all together, the ſermon was ſuch an incoherent jumble, both as to times, perſons, and the connexion of ſentences, that his propoſitions were ſometimes ſuperfluous, ſometimes defective, and no fair conſequence was to be found throughout the whole. But Sacheverell, depending on the ſtrength of his party, thought, according to his conſummate impudence, that he might ſay whatever he liſted, as if his hearers had ſurrendered their ears to him at diſcretion.

The magiſtrates of London, not having attentively obſerved his words, gave thanks to the preacher, as of courſe, according to cuſtom: but Sir Peter King, who was one of them, and the quickeſt of them all, oppoſed the motion of thanks to this preacher, and grievouſly complained that the ſermon contained many things which were falſe, injurious, and impious, and tending to ſedition and ſchiſm in the church. Of the ſame opinion was Sir Gilbert Heathcote, a man both eloquent and rich; who, being one of the aldermen of London, and of great authority among his brethren, inſiſted to have Sacheverell called in queſtion for it.

The matter was laid before the council; and when they were all of opinion that the ſermon deſerved a cenſure, as ſeeming to be rather inflammatory than religious, the duke of Marlborough propoſed, that Sacheverell ſhould be proſecuted; "leſt," ſaid he, "ſuch preachers "as theſe ſhould preach us all out of the kingdom." They all agreed to the duke of Marlborough's propoſal: but ſtill there was a queſtion among them in what court he ſhould be tried for ſo great an offence;

offence; neither were they all inclined to proceed vigorouſly againſt the impudent offender.

When the miniſters of ſtate had debated ſome time about the method of proceeding, and ſome were for leaving him to the ordinary judges, and ſome for calling him before themſelves; others, and the earl of Sunderland in particular, were of opinion that he ought to be impeached before the extraordinary judges in parliament. The lord Sommers ſaid, "after conſidering the opinions of ſome others, my "own judgment continues much the ſame as it was formerly. I ſaid "many years ago, that the government is to be taken care of, and that "good laws ought to be provided, leſt ſuch men as this ſhould ſome-"time or other kindle a flame to the deſtruction of our country, our "religion, our property, and our allies: and this evil, I ſaid, was of "ſuch a nature, that unleſs ye provided againſt it, it would be in vain "to have recourſe to proſecutions. At that time it behoved us to "look to ourſelves: but now the dangerous ſituation of affairs ad-"moniſhes us rather to take care that ſuch offenders do not hurt us, "than to conſult how to proceed againſt them. Ye truſted before in "the royal favour, and your own fortune; but where are theſe now? "And as to the great number of noble lords, if they ſhould abſent "themſelves, or the members of parliament ſhould revolt to the other "party, ye will certainly find it too late, and to no purpoſe now to "have recourſe to judiciary proceedings: for when your adverſaries "perceive you to grow feeble, they will become the more daring. "Order a charge to be drawn up againſt the offender; but ſtill take "care not to conſult your paſſions or affections, more than your own "dignity and uſage: we are all of us liable to paſſion; and no man "looks upon the injuries done to himſelf as ſmall ones: for my own "part, indeed, I look upon thoſe which Dr. Sacheverell has done to "the miniſtry, to be very great; but in the puniſhment thereof, let no "hatred, revenge, anger, or paſſion interpoſe; for where theſe take "place, the mind does not eaſily diſcern the truth; or if it does "diſcern it, it is not apt to embrace it; and that which would paſs "among others as anger only, our people would call cruelty in the "government, which is odious to all men. If, however, a condign

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"punishment can be found out for this man's offence, and suitable to "the greatness of the danger, I approve of the extraordinary method "of proceeding; but if the greatness of the offence exceeds the con- "stitutions of our ancestors, and the conceptions of men, I think it "best to make use of that method of process which our laws have pro- "vided."

This opinion, which tended to clemency, was not agreeable to the duke of Marlborough's friends, and especially to the earl of Sunderland: the lord Sommers therefore came over to their sentiments, though he was supposed at that time to have gained some share in the queen's favour. However, he would not be wanting to the public good, and always spoke his real sentiments; for he neither regarded his own interest nor the queen's favour, above the good of his country.

Dr. Sacheverell impeached.

When matters were now come to a crisis, an impeachment was carried up to the house of lords against Dr. Sacheverell, in the beginning of the winter, in the name of all the commons of Great Britain. But either through the difficulty of affairs, or the duke of Marlborough's counsels, the prosecution was interrupted by many and great delays, and put off from day to day for some months.

In the mean time the clergy flocked together, and traversed both town and country to inflame the spirits of the multitude; and all places were full of riot. The butchers also, and the dregs of the city mob, ran together in crowds; whose fury, under the conduct of some of the clergy, put all things into the utmost danger.

The duke of Marlborough made many pretences to excuse himself from coming to the parliament, as, that he was busy in preparing for the war, and that his duty called him to Holland. This gave great offence to his friends, who could not so well answer for the success of their proceedings, and the event of the trial in his absence. Many of the peers also were sorry at his absence and delays, and complained that he had so little regard for his own honour, as to go over to Holland

land in ſuch a critical time. However, ſuch was his pleaſure, and ſuch their reſpect to his dignity, that they acquieſced. BOOK XII.

THE queen, either reſolving no longer to conceal her hatred to the dutcheſs of Marlborough, or elſe influenced by the preſſing importunity of Mrs. Maſham, commanded the peers to attend her; and earneſtly preſſed them one by one in her cloſet, to be mindful of their duty to her, and of the preſent danger; and neither to agree to any petition of the army, which the duke of Marlborough ſhould preſent to the parliament, nor ſuffer Mrs. Maſham to be removed from her; but ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe any motion to that purpoſe. And it is reported that as they ſeverally returned out of her cloſet, her majeſty expreſſed herſelf to this effect: "If ever any recommendation of "mine was of weight among you, as I know many of them have been, "I deſire this may be eſpecially regarded." The peers declared, that they knew not of any ſuch matter as her majeſty had intimated to them, but promiſed to behave themſelves in parliament as became their duty.

WHEN the buſineſs for which the queen had called the peers to her cloſet began to tranſpire, and ſome imperfect knowledge of it had reached the duke of Marlborough's ears, he took a proper opportunity to wait upon her majeſty, in order to clear himſelf to her from all the calumnies of his adverſaries, and whatever prejudices might be conceived againſt him. He poſitively denied the whole matters charged againſt him, eſpecially his aſpiring to any extraordinary honours: ſo far, he ſaid, was he from being concerned in any ſuch deſigns, that he was not ſo much as privy to them. After this he retired into the country: but he returned again, and ſeemed to have recovered the queen's favour; but her majeſty did not abate any thing of her reſolution.

IT was at this time reported that when ſome perſons of diſtinction, in their ſecret conferences, which they held late at night, propoſed ſomewhat tending to an addreſs for removing Mrs. Maſham, the lord Sommers oppoſed it as a thing without precedent, and not agreeable

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to the laws of the land. The lord Cowper and the earl of Godolphin are ſaid to have been of the ſame opinion: but the earl of Sunderland, boiling with anger and revenge, was of another, and ſharply reflected on the lord Sommers. The earl of Wharton and the lord Halifax, who, with all duty to the queen, were deſirous of having the kingdom governed according to the conſtitution, are ſaid to have modeſtly inſiſted that evil counſellors of one ſex as well as the other, might be lawfully removed from the throne, by the advice of parliament. But this affair continued ſtill a ſecret: ſo that I know not any thing of certainty more than that many were of opinion at that time, that the peers ſhould provide for their own ſafety and that of their allies, and take care that the kingdom ſhould not receive any damage.

THE duke of Marlborough neglected the opinion of the earl of Sunderland, who declared that he could find out and name ſuch men as would manage this affair in the parliament, and came into the lord Sommers's ſentiments, rather to wait for a favourable opportunity, than to expoſe himſelf and the government to hazard, upon the uncertain and not ſufficiently approved cuſtoms of former times. He is therefore ſaid to have politely waved certain petitions preſented to him, when he was in his chariot, entreating him to put off his journey. He perſevered in his reſolution of going to Holland, even before Sacheverell's trial ſhould be over: nor did the ſeditious tumults in the city detain him.

IN thoſe corrupt times there were very few who did not prefer their own private friendſhips before the public good. The whole ſect of the tories was prejudiced againſt the miniſtry, and averſe to the duke of Marlborough: ſome of them being actuated by old enmities, and others drawn over by promiſes and expectations; ſome were provoked by the refuſal of their demands, and others again went along with the reſt, through mere want of thought, miſtake, levity, or inſatiable avarice; a vice with which very few were at that time untainted. Many were alſo miſerably ſeduced by falſe reports, induſtriouſly raiſed: nor were the inferior clergy wanting to promote thoſe, whoſe number

was

was now greatly increaſed, as well as their vices, which appeared flagrant before they were ripe, and even among the very youngeſt of that order.

THE duke of Ormonde was moved by his many and great debts, and the hopes of the command of the army, as well as the lieutenancy of Ireland: the duke of Somerſet, who looked upon himſelf as ſuperior to all men in dignity by his pride, and alſo by a grudge againſt the duke of Marlborough, for the refuſal of a regiment to his ſon the marquis of Hartford. The duke of Argyle and the earl of Rivers were incited with the ſame hopes of the army, and of the offices which the duke of Marlborough enjoyed, which they purpoſed in a friendly manner to divide between them. The duke of Hamilton was drawn in by the neceſſity of his own affairs. Why the duke of Queenſberry, who, at that time, had the chief management of the affairs of Scotland, joined in oppoſition to government, the moſt penetrating were unable to aſſign any other cauſe than the declining fortunes of the earl of Godolphin; and that there are men who not only have an aptitude to deſert their friends in adverſity, but even to become their enemies. The dukes of Montroſe and Roxburgh, who were diveſted of all public employment, continued ſtill faithful, without any engagment, though they were earneſtly preſſed by the queen to a defection. The earl of Iſla was moved either by ſome grudge, or his regard to his brother at that time, and the earl of Loudoun, by continual importunities to deſert his party; and laſtly, the duke of Shrewſbury, had been long ago drawn into the ſame party by the reſentment of a repulſe, his wife's imperious temper, the earl of Wharton's envy, or Mr. Harley's friendſhip.

THE influence of theſe great men in parliament, together with the queen's authority, and the ſtrength of the whole tory party united, were more than ſufficient to have overturned all the duke of Marlborough's power, and to have ſtripped him of all his fortunes. It was therefore a wonder to many, that he had not before this time ſhared the offices which he held, among the nobility, except the command of the army, which no good man envied him, and of which he could

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not have been diveſted, without the utmoſt danger to this kingdom and the common cauſe of the confederates. But no man deſcends, without the utmoſt reluctance, from the heights of dignity and ambition; in compariſon of which all other conſiderations and enjoyments appear mean and ſordid. The duke, indulging a paſſion ſo natural to an elevated ſpirit, was unwilling to revolve in his mind, or to conſult with others, how he might make a compromiſe of offices with thoſe who wiſhed for his fall. Beſides, a change of times diſcovers many things which in the mean time do not appear. And laſtly, many who had received benefits from the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin, and had promiſed to ſtand by them, did not keep their words; whoſe lives the earl of Godolphin had not either ſufficiently obſerved, or elſe it is likely he choſe to make uſe of mercenaries; of which, it is ſaid, he afterwards repented when it was too late. In dealing with ſuch men, it is proper not to draw the bonds of friendſhip too cloſe.

WHILE the articles of impeachment againſt Dr. Sacheverell were preparing, there was, in ſo great and corrupt a city, a prodigious mob, whoſe outragious fury more and more endangered every day the fortunes of the citizens. The more prudent ſaid, the cauſe could not now be tried; it ought not to be brought to a public trial: what are the miniſtry doing with this man at ſuch a dangerous time? They would rather have had him either called before his own ordinary, or elſe the trial put off till another time.

THERE did not a day paſs, ſince the houſe of commons had engaged in this impeachment, which the tory clergy did not ſpend in the ſtudy of faction. Nay, they preached up Sacheverell's praiſes, as much as if the whole kingdom had been involved in the danger of this one prieſt.

MR. HARLEY, according to his uſual way, did not think fit to let this opportunity ſlip without making his advantage of it, and courted the familiarity of all ſorts of people. For he, little regarding his own affairs, ſpared neither pains nor expences to draw any perſon into his meaſures. He was wont to feaſt with the zealots of all ſects and parties,

parties, and to invite them to dinner: he never refuſed any thing they deſired of him; he filled many with hopes of what they wiſhed for, promiſing every one whatever he deſired; but at the ſame time, he ſeemed to diſcover his moſt ſecret deſigns to thoſe only whom he knew to be more ſolicitous about the public affairs than their own.

He gave out that the duke of Somerſet ſhould have the chief management of the government; but, for the command of the army, he named the elector of Hanover to thoſe who approved of it; and to others, the earl of Rivers, or the duke of Ormonde, or whomſoever they liked beſt, laughing, in the mean time, as I have already obſerved, at their fooliſh credulity. The duke of Shrewſbury, not being eaſily perſuaded to prefer an uncertainty to a certainty, contented himſelf with the office of lord chamberlain, which he required to be ſecured to him for a certain ſpecified time. As for the tories, there was no occaſion now to ſtudy their ſatisfaction; ſince they ruſhed on freely, either out of hatred to the duke of Marlborough, or affection to the French king. For, if the duke of Marlborough were once removed from the command of the army, they thought themſelves ſure of carrying their point, and riſing to the height of their ambition: after which they hoped they ſhould be able at length to lay aſide Harley, Shrewſbury, and the revolted whigs, and to take the reins of government into their own hands. The earl of Nottingham, who was zealous for religion, and highly renowned for his good ſervices both to the church and the ſtate, as well as celebrated for his elegant ſpeeches in parliament, took extraordinary pains in favour of Dr. Sacheverell; but yet he had no regard for Mr. Harley, either becauſe he had long entertained a diſlike to the duke of Shrewſbury, or elſe becauſe he had conceived a prejudice againſt Harley on his own account.

As ſoon as the holidays were over, the town was full againſt the meeting of the parliament. In the houſe of commons money was raiſed upon the people in proportion to the number of the ſoldiers, and for the ſervice of the war; Mr. Lowndes having firſt laid before them a true ſtate of the accounts of the foregoing year. Then the ſeveral counties were rated, and the ſeveral proportions fixed, which

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they were to pay towards the land-tax, according to cuſtom. The houſe of commons alſo, at that time, made aſſignments of ſome parts of the public revenue for ninety-nine years; of which the tories made heavy complaints, as if the kingdom had been mortgaged, and all the funds exhauſted. There were alſo great complaints made in parliament, that the money which had been raiſed for the uſe of the ſailors and the navy, had been paid out of the treaſury for maintaining the war in Spain: on which account it was falſely ſuggeſted to the common people, that the earl of Godolphin had converted that money to his own uſe. To this Godolphin's friends anſwered, that if there was any money due to the ſailors, as it is certain there was a great deal, blame was not to be laid upon the lord treaſurer, but upon the commons themſelves, for not having appropriated the money to that ſervice. But, ſince it appeared by the public accounts, that lord Godolphin had not been guilty of any embezzlement or fraud, in that the money due to the fleet had been iſſued for other ſervices of the war, he was perfectly indifferent if unjuſt charges were brought againſt him by bad men. At this time alſo, juſt complaints were made of the great multitude of placemen and penſioners, and the power of the military officers in parliament. Upon this, Mr. Benſon and Mr. Edward Wortley, men of eminent parts, and great aſſertors of liberty, thought fit, that one of them ſhould move the houſe for a bill to reſtrain the military power in parliament, and the other for their voting in future by ballot. Both of them took great pains in this matter; and both thoſe bills paſſed the houſe of commons. But when they came into the houſe of lords, the earl of Wharton, who had been a great aſſertor of liberty, but was now appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, oppoſed both theſe bills in very ſtrong terms. For, ſaid he, "what "can theſe things tend to at this time, unleſs it be to pull up our "liberties by the roots, and to overturn the very foundation of our "conſtitution? Why ſhould not thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed their "virtue in the field, be ſuppoſed to retain the ſame alſo in the ſe-"nate? And if the votes ſhould be given by ballot, then our li-"berty and common ſafety may be truſted to the uncertainty of "fortune."

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THE earl of Godolphin, encouraged by this ſpeech, ſpake himſelf to the ſame purpoſe. And many others ſpake alſo, as if their very words had come out of the lord Wharton's own mouth. Both thoſe bills were therefore thrown out; whereupon Mr. Benſon, in great diſcontent, went over to Holland. And, at the riſing of the parliament, Mr. Wortley, that he might be able the next year to refute all that had been alleged concerning the inconveniences of balloting, and the objections made by the courtiers, made a journey to Venice, where he carefully ſearched and examined every thing relating to the urn and the ballot balls.

THE money now raiſed by parliament for the ſervice of the war amounted to ſix millions three hundred and eighty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty pounds. The payments to the ſeveral allies were ordered to be made half-yearly, in the ſame manner as before; except, that what had been allowed to the duke of Savoy for waggons, pack-horſes, mules, medicines, and the cure of the ſick and wounded, in the former years, was now withdrawn; becauſe there were very few wounded this year in the wars in Savoy.

THE Dutch fleet conſiſted of forty-two ſhips, and the Engliſh of forty-ſix; concerning which there afterwards aroſe a great controverſy between their reſpective nations.

AFTER the holidays, when Dr. Sacheverell's cauſe came to be debated in the houſe of commons, Mr. Harley, in a ſpeech, not in the leaſt defending the party accuſed, but condemning the liberty uſed by the clergy in their diſcourſes, ſeemed to reflect on his ſermon as a *circumgyration* of incoherent words without any regular order. However, Mr. Harley would not ſay, but ſome of the paſſages drawn from the ſermon, as they were put together in the impeachment, by changing the order of the words, were ſuch as he could not approve of, although he did not think them ſuch as deſerved a charge of high crimes and miſdemeanors. He was, therefore, of opinion, that the cenſure ſhould either be left to the parliament, or elſe that the whole proſecution ſhould be dropt. For he did not look upon the man to be conſiderable enough to be proſecuted by an impeachment before the houſe of lords,

though

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though he owned the ſermon rather offenſive than religious. The members obſerved, that Mr. Harley had in his ſpeech made uſe of ſuch a *circumgyration* of incoherent words, as he himſelf had before condemned in Sacheverell; ſo that the houſe could not certainly diſcover from his expreſſions, whether he ſpake for him or againſt him. While the articles were preparing, many things paſſed on both ſides, too tedious here to be mentioned.

THE houſe of commons appointed twenty members to be managers in the name of all the commons of Great Britain; and the doctor was alſo permitted to make uſe of whomſoever he would for his defence. Many lawyers were ſo much offended at his crime, as to refuſe being of his counſel. Sir Simon Harcourt was aſhamed of his client's cauſe; and ſo was the whole tribe of lawyers, except Mr. Conſtantine Phipps: nor would any of them undertake his defence, but on condition that he ſhould firſt, or at leaſt as ſoon as he ſhould come to preach again, renounce the Oxford decree, and all ſuch doctrines as are therein contained.

IN the midſt of all this hurry, the duke of Marlborough, as already mentioned, went over to Holland, being greatly diſturbed with the diſputes among the allies about peace and war. As ſome in England had long borne great envy to his authority and ſucceſſes, ſo there were others who promoted his glory, either on account of their relation to him, or the pleaſure they took in his ſervices, or becauſe they thought the praiſes of ſo great a man might in time turn ſome way to their own advantage. For many, as I have obſerved before, objected to him underhand, that he never had a due regard either for the authority of the parliament, or the liberty of the people of England, or the majeſty of the ſovereign; that he had above all things conſulted his own intereſt; that he deſigned to increaſe the military power in England, and eſpecially in the parliament; and had taken meaſures to make his own advantage out of the cloathing of the ſoldiers, and the ſale of commiſſions. They blamed him for other things unjuſtifiable, which had been done by other men without his knowledge. Nay, they even inſinuated, that the duke of Marlborough was now purſuing the ſame

ſteps which had been taken by others in the late cruel and unhappy civil wars. The duke's friends retorted all theſe reflections upon his accuſers.

About this time the French king's inſtructions were ſent to Monſ. Pettecum by the marquis de Torcy. As theſe differed but little from the demands of the confederates, the ſtates-general and the ambaſſadors of the confederates did not think them utterly to be rejected. Beſides, Monſ. de Torcy, in his letters alſo, deſired Pettecum to aſſure the confederates, that the French king would now acknowledge king Charles, and recall his own forces out of Spain, and give king Philip no aſſiſtance in future; that he would reſtore Straſburgh, and give up Landau to the empire; that he would reſtore Briſac to the emperor, and Rhinfeldt to the landgrave of Heſſe; that he would acknowledge the title of queen Anne to the kingdom of England, and that of the elector of Brandenburgh to the kingdom of Pruſſia; that he would demoliſh Dunkirk, and all his fortifications on the Rhine, from Baſil to Philipſburgh; that he would yield up Liſle, Tournay, Furnes, Conde, Maubeuge, and ſome other towns, for a barrier to the Dutch; and that he would reſtore the duke of Savoy to his dominions, if the emperor would ſhew ſimilar favour to the elector of Bavaria and his brother. To all this the marquis de Torcy added, that the French king was willing to make a peace on theſe terms, and deſired a conference, that if any difficulty ſhould ariſe, it might be debated and compoſed at the congreſs. And he did not doubt, but what he ſhould give in charge to his ambaſſadors, would now, at laſt, give intire ſatisfaction to the confederates as to the 37th article; than which nothing could be a greater proof of his good diſpoſition towards them and peace.

When theſe things were publicly known at the Hague, they were received with the higheſt ſatisfaction by the multitude, who expreſſed their joy with acclamations, and all other ways uſual among the vulgar. But, at that time, two things happened which rendered the French king's diſpoſition to peace very much ſuſpected; namely, his ſending an ambaſſador all on a ſudden to king Philip; and his giving the title of duke D'Anjou to the new-born ſon of the duke of Burgundy. Nevertheleſs, leſt the confederates ſhould ſeem to the world abroad, or to their

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their own ſubjects at home utterly averſe to peace, they gave liberty to the French plenipotentiaries to come to a conference.

Treaty of Gertruydenberg.

THE French king made choice of the marſhal D'Uxelles and the abbot de Polignac, as the moſt proper perſons for this employment. The ambaſſadors left Paris on the 4th day of March, with Monſ. de Boſque, for their ſecretary, and in a few days arrived at Gertruydenberg. As ſoon as they came thither, they entered into a conference with Meſſrs. Buys and Vanderduſſen, the Dutch deputies. They declared to them how deſirous the French king was of peace, on condition that Spain and the Indies being given up to king Charles, king Philip ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Sicily and Naples. But this propoſal did not ſatisfy the confederates: and therefore, leſt the time ſhould be loſt by many journeys backwards and forwards, the conference was interrupted.

THE diſſentions and animoſities in the Britiſh parliament daily increaſing, the accounts of the building the palace of Blenheim were ordered to be laid before the houſe of commons. On a peruſal of theſe, ſevere invectives were thrown out upon that building, which was called a golden mine, as well as on its lord.

THE money granted for the ſervice of the navy, being applied to other exigencies of the war, the ſailors made heavy and loud complaints of the great debts owing to them; and that the tallies given them inſtead of money had fallen almoſt to nothing. When this was underſtood, and that there were three millions of money due to them, the members cried out, "How? To what a pitch of avarice "have theſe men proceeded? The naval affairs have not been ma- "naged for the defence of our commerce, and of the kingdom, but "as the means of acquiring money."

THESE, with other reflections, were commonly thrown out againſt the miniſtry, out of hatred to the duke and the dutcheſs too of Marlborough; as well as from a deſire to pleaſe the queen, who had ſecretly reſolved to conclude a peace, which the adherents of Marlborough endeavoured to hinder. The miniſtry, therefore, entered upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverell in very inauſpicious circumſtances.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

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Dr. Sacheverell's Trial.——The Managers againſt him.——Council for him.——Articles of Impeachment.——Riotous Mob.——Dr. Sacheverell found Guilty.——The Lords Judgement.——The Oxford Decree burnt.——Sir Thomas Parker Lord Chief Juſtice.——A new Parliament called.——Freſh Overtures for Peace.——Mortaigne taken.——The French Lines ſurpriſed.——Doway beſieged,——and ſurrendered.——Bethune beſieged,——and taken.——St. Venant and Aire beſieged;——St. Venant taken;——Aire taken.——Battle of Almenara.——King Charles enters Madrid,——but ſoon leaves it again.——Stanhope ſurpriſed at Brihuega.——Battle of Villa Vicioſa.

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Dr. Sacheverell's trial.

WHEN the proſecution againſt Dr. Sacheverell was carried on ſo far, that the houſe of commons could not draw back, the houſe of lords appointed a time and place for his trial. A court was prepared for this purpoſe in Weſtminſter-hall, exactly in the form of the houſe of lords; in which ſeats were placed for the peers in their order. A box was prepared near the throne for the queen, who came to the houſe, in a private character. On the one ſide of the houſe, benches were erected for the commons of Great Britain; and on the other ſide for noble ladies and gentlewomen. A kind of ſcaffold was raiſed for the managers of the commons; another, with benches, for the doctor and his counſel. And in the fartheſt part of the houſe, bal-

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conies and galleries for the populace. It was therefore a place very fit to plead in; ſo that the cauſe did not want any convenience ſuitable to a court of juſtice.

The managers againſt him.

THE managers of the commons were the lord William Pawlet and lord Coningſby, Sir Thomas Parker, Sir Joſeph Jekyl, Sir John Hollis, Sir John Holland, Sir James Montague, and Sir Peter King; Mr. Henry Boyle, Mr. Robert Eyre, Mr. James Stanhope, and Mr. Robert Walpole; Mr. Spencer Cowper, Mr. John Smith, Mr. John Dolben, and Mr. William Thomſon; Sir David Dalrymple, who was appointed to be one of them, was by ſome ſickneſs or indiſpoſition prevented from attending the trial.

Counſel for him.

THE doctor's counſel were Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. Conſtantine Phipps, Mr. Samuel Dodd, Mr. Duncan Dee, and Dr. Hum. Henchman. Mr. ſerjeant Pratt refuſed to aſſiſt him for a good fee; a rare example of honeſty among lawyers!

WHEN, therefore, the lords were ſeated on the 27th day of February 1709, the lord high chancellor of the kingdom aſked the lords, If it was their pleaſure that Dr. Sacheverell ſhould be called to appear before them? On their anſwering, Yes; the doctor came to the bar, with greater boldneſs and confidence in his crimes than conſcious innocence and ingenuity, and attended by Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Atterbury, who, for the moſt part, ſtood by him during the whole time of his trial. The managers for the houſe of commons alſo took their places.

As the houſe was very full, ſo there never was a greater crowd of the people than had aſſembled together without doors on that occaſion. The noble ladies, who attended the trial, were very much afraid leſt ſomewhat in their dreſs or behaviour there ſhould give occaſion to the Tatler or Obſervator to turn them into ridicule in their papers. They came thither either to ſee and be ſeen, or elſe out of a groundleſs opinion, that the church of England would be ruined by the puniſhment which was to be inflicted upon this one prieſt.

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THE court being conſtituted, and proclamation made for ſilence, the doctor was aſked, If he was ready to take his trial before their lordſhips? To which he anſwered, He was; and that he ſhould be always ready to ſubmit himſelf to the laws of the land, and to their lordſhips judgment. The articles of impeachment were then read in the court before their lordſhips, being four in number; of which this was the ſubſtance: 1. That the doctor, in his ſermon, had publicly reflected upon the late Revolution in very harſh terms; and ſuggeſted, that the means uſed to bring it about were odious and unjuſtifiable. 2. That he had oppoſed the toleration granted to diſſenters; and had caſt ſcurrilous reflections upon thoſe who favoured and defended liberty of conſcience, and upon archbiſhop Grindal in particular. 3. That he had ſeditiouſly ſuggeſted, that the church of England was in great peril under her majeſty's adminiſtration. 4. That he had ſuggeſted to the people, that the conſtitution, both in eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, was in danger of deſtruction under her majeſty's adminiſtration; and had reproachfully called thoſe, whom her majeſty had promoted to high ſtations in church and ſtate, ſpurious and falſe brethren: that he had plainly called the lord high treaſurer of this kingdom, Volpone; and had alſo given opprobrious, and very injurious names to the miniſters; and, in the exerciſe of a ſacred function, had wickedly wreſted and perverted the holy ſcriptures.

Articles of impeachment.

To theſe articles, the doctor, with the aſſiſtance of ſome eminent lawyers and divines, put in an anſwer in writing, in which he poſitively denied the crimes with which he was charged, and endeavoured to juſtify or extenuate thoſe poſitions in his ſermon which had given offence. Every body was ſatisfied that the doctor's apology deſerved not the leaſt regard, and therefore the managers for the houſe of commons proceeded to make good the articles of impeachment. Many and long were the learned and elaborate ſpeeches which were made in this famous cauſe by the managers for the commons, the counſel for the priſoner, and the lords his judges. But of theſe, ſuch as were inclined to favour Sacheverell, in general, endeavoured rather to palliate than to juſtify his conduct; while others, particularly ſome of his

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own order, arraigned it with great ſeverity, and with all the aggravating force of maſterly eloquence. The doctor himſelf, after the pleadings of his counſel, made his own defence, in a diſtinct, elaborate, and able oration, which, as was commonly reported and believed, was not of his own compoſition. In the firſt place, he expatiated, by way of exordium, on the dignity of the holy order to which he belonged, who were concerned, as well as himſelf, in this cauſe: he then proceeded to excuſe his conduct by manifold aſſertions, and ſubtle arguments, expreſſed in all the pomp and parade of logical form. In order to vindicate himſelf from all diſaffection to government, he not only diſclaimed all ſedition, but all ſeditious intentions: he vehemently affirmed, proteſted, and called God to witneſs his innocence: 'What I have hitherto humbly offered to your lordſhips, ſaid he, 'relates to my words and actions; and as to the thoughts and intentions of my heart, which are known only to God and my own conſcience, and which are affirmed in my impeachment to be wicked, 'ſeditious, and malicious, I call the Searcher of hearts to witneſs, in 'the moſt ſolemn and religious manner, as I expect to be acquitted 'before God and his holy angels, at that dreadful tribunal before 'which not only I, but all the world, even your lordſhips, who now 'ſit in judgment upon me, muſt appear, to be acquitted or condemned, that I had no ſuch wicked, ſeditious, or malicious intentions as have been imputed to me; that there is nothing upon 'earth I more deteſt and abhor; that my deſigns were, in every reſpect, directly contrary."

THE ſolemn aſſeverations of Dr. Sacheverell produced different effects on his noble audience: the greater part, lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, expreſſed their aſtoniſhment with exclamations. The counteſs of Sunderland, a lady of exemplary piety and chaſtity, as well as ſingular beauty, was ſo much affected at this appeal to God to witneſs what ſhe was convinced was a falſehood, that ſhe could not refrain from ſhedding tears. The dutcheſs of Hamilton, on the other hand, who always favoured the prevailing cauſe, exhauſted her ſpirits in proclaiming the doctor's innocence: and many were willing to conſtrue his

his ſolemn appeal as an hyerbolical act of religion, like that of St. Paul, when he ſays, "I could wiſh myſelf accurſed, or cut off, for my "brethren."

In the mean time, the dregs of the city mob followed the doctor to Weſtminſter-hall every day: a hired company of butchers attended him as a guard, as he paſſed along the ſtreets, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations of the loweſt ranks of the people, with whoſe applauſe and congratulations the doctor was ſo much elated, that his whole carriage and deportment were marked with a very diſguſting inſolence. The mob, who crowded all the ſtreets and avenues leading to the hall where he was tried, accompanied him with the like acclamations back again to his lodgings in the Temple: while people of both ſexes, better born than bred, ſaluted him with great ceremony and profound reſpect from the balconies and windows, and even loaded him with preſents. The impure Dr. Sacheverell, the proper grace and idol of ſuch a cavalcade, officiouſly returned their compliments from his chair, and looked upon his adverſaries with infinite contempt. He was ſo much elated with theſe unuſual acclamations, that he behaved himſelf as if no other doctor of the church had been worthy of being once compared with him.

Riotous mob.

While Dr. Sacheverell thus gloried in popular countenance and favour, the giddy mob, eager to embrace every opportunity of ſhaking off all the reſtraints of the laws, broke out into various acts of violence and contempt of government. On the 28th day of February, being the ſecond of the trial, thoſe who had attended the doctor to Weſtminſter-hall in the morning, aſſembled themſelves about four of the clock in the evening in ſeveral parts of the town, together with a gang of chimney-ſweepers, link-boys, and blackguards, who, according to their inſtructions, began to plunder and burn the diſſenters meeting-houſes. They made their firſt attack on Dr. Burgeſs, miniſter of a diſſenting congregation in a court near Lincoln's-Inn Fields: they broke open his meeting-houſe, carried off the ſacred cuſhions, veſſels, and bibles, pulled down the pulpit, pews, benches, wainſcot, ſconces, and all that was combuſtible, and made a bonfire of it:

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it: and his own life had been in danger, if the venerable old man had not had timely notice from his neighbours to ſave himſelf by flight at midnight. At the ſame time other parties demoliſhed ſeveral other meeting-houſes, particularly thoſe of Mr. Earl, in Long-Acre; of Mr. Bradbury, in New-ſtreet, Shoe-lane; of Mr. Taylor, in Leather-lane; of Mr. Wright, in Black-friars; and of Mr. Hamilton, in Clerkenwell. When they came to this part of the town they deſtroyed the chapel belonging to St. John's pariſh, and deſigned to have broke into the biſhop of Saliſbury's houſe in that neighbourhood, and even to have put him to death: which they would have effected, had not the neighbourhood reſiſted them till a party of the queen's guards came up and diſperſed them. From thence they proceeded to the bank of England: but the directors, apprehenſive of their intentions, had ſent to Whitehall for aſſiſtance. The earl of Sunderland reported the danger that threatened the bank, with the other outrages that were committed throughout the city, to the queen, who was at firſt, as well as all that were about her, ſeized with a paleneſs and trembling: but her majeſty recovering her ſpirits, commanded Sunderland immediately to ſend her horſe and foot guards to diſperſe the mob. The earl ſent for captain Horſey, who then commanded the guard, and commanded him to march immediately for that purpoſe. He aſked whether he was to preach, or to fight the mob? If the former, he deſired that ſome better ſpeaker might be ſent along with him; if the latter, fighting, he ſaid, was his trade, and he would do his beſt. The earl replied, that he muſt uſe his judgment and diſcretion, and forbear violent means, except in caſe of neceſſity. As the guards advanced to the city, moſt of the mob fled at their approach: only one of their ringleaders, George Purchaſe, a bailiff, who had formerly been a life-guard man, but was diſmiſſed from his ſtation on account of ſome miſdemeanor, with a few of the moſt reſolute of his followers, offered to make a ſtand, crying out *high church* and *Dr. Sacheverell:* but being deſerted by the mob, this hero was obliged alſo to retreat. The guards met with ſome oppoſition near Fleet-ditch, from a party that were rifling the meeting-houſe in Black-friars: but having cut and wounded ſome of the moſt daring, and ſecured ſome others, they ſoon diſperſed the reſt. They patroled the ſtreets

ſtreets all the reſt of that night, in order to prevent any farther miſchief.

It was whiſpered that theſe tumults were excited, and riots committed, not by the raſcally multitude only, but that there were many gentlemen among them in diſguiſe; and that the rabble were encouraged in ſedition by money, thrown to them by men of figure and diſtinction, out of their coaches. But of this there never appeared any legal proof: however, among others, there were ſome of her majeſty's guards and watermen taken in the very act of rioting, ſo that the court itſelf was not free from ſuſpicion: but the queen, in order to prevent all reflections on her own conduct, iſſued orders to repair the damage, and promiſed that her ſervants ſhould be brought to a fair trial. Early the next morning the whole town was full of the reports of that night's riots: and ſo far were the trumpeters of rebellion from condemning the crime, or clearing themſelves from any ſuſpicion of being concerned in it, that they ſpread a rumour that the like tumults had happened in many other parts of England, ſo that they might ſecure impunity by the multitude of the offenders, and ſtrike the greater terror into the minds of her majeſty's miniſters.

In thoſe difficult and dangerous times, all good ſubjects were greatly diſheartened; not knowing where to place confidence, or what courſe to purſue. They who had vehemently argued in parliament againſt reſiſtance, now practiſed reſiſtance againſt government with open arms: and they who thought reſiſtance might in ſome caſes be warranted, ſeemed now reſolved rather to ſuffer the laſt extremity, than to repel force by force: and even the queen was thought by many not to be very conſiſtent with herſelf. However, that a woman ſhould be inconſiſtent is not to be wondered at: ſince the wills of women are nothing but humour or fancy, which, when it is rendered peeviſh by old age, is apt to turn to revenge, eſpecially if it be irritated by any affront offered to their age, their bed, or their beauty. Of this the French were fully aware when they excluded them from all adminiſtration of government: which, if they had not done, all France

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had, before this time, under the name of pious donations, fallen into the hands of the clergy.

THESE, and ſuch matters as theſe, were the common ſubjects of converſation in thoſe times: but, leſt offence ſhould be given to the clergy, who, ſince the paſſing of the act for triennial parliaments, were poſſeſſed of great power in England, or that any thing in the conduct of the preſent adminiſtration ſhould be interpreted to the prejudice of the queen, or the princeſs Sophia, it was thought proper rather to conceal the many failings of women, than to divulge them to no purpoſe; and ſo I alſo ſhall paſs over them in ſilence. But there was a book publiſhed at that time, under the title of *Atalantis*, full of theſe things; which any one may conſult who is curious to know the frailties of human nature, and the errors of our times: one thing however is certain, that all Britain was now quite diſguſted at female government.

THROUGHOUT the whole of the famous trial, which now intereſted and agitated all ranks and orders of people, and which was continued upwards of three weeks, the duke of Buckingham declared very plainly, that he was more deſirous to know which was the ſtronger party, than which of them had the juſter and better cauſe. The earl of Nottingham, and his brother the lord Guernſey, both of them very eloquent ſpeakers, and intimately acquainted with the language of the courts of juſtice, inſiſted, that in the preſent cauſe they ſhould ſtrictly adhere to the ordinary forms of judicial proceedings; ſtrenuouſly contending that the lords ought to determine it according to law, as the ordinary judges do, who are bound to give judgment according to the law of the land, and the rules of court.

SOME of the lords oppoſed this, urging that they had a legiſlative, as well as a judicial authority, and were at liberty, by the laws, to uſe either of theſe, without being ſubject to the forms of the other courts; which would confound the extraordinary juriſdiction of this high court with that of the ordinary courts. But as the earl of Nottingham's argument,

argument, though full of ſophiſtry, was plauſible, the lord Sommers and Cowper thought fit to diſcourſe at large on that ſubject, and the duty of judges: they confeſſed that nothing ought to be ſo carefully maintained in any country, as the law of the land; which, if once taken away, no man can have any certain rule to know what is his own, and what is another man's; who is innocent, and who is guilty: and therefore, they ſaid, judges were appointed to interpret the laws, who are bound to proceed according to the letter: but, ſince all contingencies cannot poſſibly be conceived in expreſs words, it is neceſſary alſo to have other judges, to determine according to the equity of the caſe, and not according to the ſtrict letter of the law; and therefore the law of the land is not always the rule in all cauſes: but, ſaid they, we, who are judges, either by birth or creation, veſted with ſupreme authority, according to the cuſtoms of our anceſtors, ought in giving judgment to proceed with a good conſcience, according to the underſtanding which God has given us.

THE lord Sommers, in order to obviate invidious reflections upon their judgments, ſaid, "It ſeems ſtrange to me that it can poſſibly "enter into the mind of a man, that we ſhould ever give judgment "in any cauſe in compliance with the direction of others; ſince, in "matters of judgment, we have always followed the example of the "wiſeſt judges; conſidering chiefly what is equity, and what the "public good, the common ſafety, and the conſtitution of the king-"dom neceſſarily require. We know that the judgments as well as "the pleadings, muſt be according to law: but it does not thence "follow that we are tied up to the forms of the inferior courts, or "bound to proceed according to thoſe laws which we preſcribe to "others; for every court has its particular cuſtoms, and we have "ours."

AT length the earl of Nottingham propoſed, that the queſtion ſhould be put to the judges: but this was alſo oppoſed, leſt the judges ſhould, by degrees, come to determine concerning the rights and privileges of parliament. At laſt it was agreed, almoſt without any contradiction, that the queſtion ſhould be put to the judges for

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their opinion only, but not for their determination. The judges, as might have been foreſeen, declared in favour of their own courts: but the lords, without regard to the opinion of the judges, reſolved to proceed to the determination of the cauſe in hand, according to the law of the land, and the uſage of parliament.

In the mean time the duke of Leeds, a nobleman more celebrated for the quickneſs of his parts than the probity of his principles, and now ſeventy years of age, having liſtened attentively to all that had been ſaid by others in this debate in parliament concerning the revolution, of which he had always been a zealous aſſertor, ſaid, "What "is this I hear? king William an uſurper! and the revolution a "rebellion! Indeed if that enterprize had not ſucceeded to our wiſhes, "both theſe aſſertions had been true; and the judges would have "pronounced all of us, who then ſtood up in defence of our country, "our religion, and our laws, rebels: but, ſince the prince of Orange's "cauſe has been avowed both by God and man; ſince he has been "acknowledged in our public records as the deliverer, guardian, and "preſerver of our nation; and his enterprize to be moſt glorious, and "the eſtabliſhment of our preſent government: I wonder how there "can be any debate among your lordſhips about this matter. I am "now in my old age to defend that cauſe in parliament, in which, on "mature deliberation, I engaged and took an active part; and, if "need ſhould require, I promiſe, in ſupport of the ſame cauſe, to "meet you in the field. My lords, ſuffer not ſuch matters as theſe "to be made ſubjects of debate, nor any queſtion to be ſtarted in "parliament about what was done at the time of the revolution."

Many others alſo ſpake to the ſame effect, who yet, when the queſtion was put, voted that Dr. Sacheverell was not guilty; either out of reſentment of ſome ill offices that had been done them, or diſappointment of their expectations.

The duke of Leeds himſelf was never diſaffected to the late king's title, nor ungrateful to his memory: but having been deprived of his office and dignity by the lord Halifax, he became not only averſe

averſe to him, but to all the Montague family, on account of former injuries. BOOK XIII.

OTHERS again gave their votes for acquitting Dr. Sacheverell of the crimes with which he was charged, rather out of party-prejudice and pique, or from political motives, than any regard to the equity of his cauſe, or the common ſafety.

AFTER the cauſe had been carried on till the 20th day of March, then the queſtion was ſeverally put to each lord by name, whether Dr. Sacheverell was guilty or not guilty? And upon caſting up their ſeveral voices, he was found guilty of high crimes and miſdemeanors charged on him. After this the court adjourned; and the 23d day of March was appointed for the giving judgment againſt him. Dr. Sacheverell voted guilty.

ON that day, after the priſoner had kneeled at the bar, the lord chancellor pronounced their lordſhips judgment as followeth: "That "you Henry Sacheverell, doctor in divinity, ſhall be, and you are "hereby enjoined not to preach during the term of three years next "enſuing: that your two printed ſermons ſhall be burnt before the "Royal Exchange, at one of the clock in the afternoon, by the "common hangman, in the preſence of the lord mayor and ſheriffs "of London." The lords judgment.

THIS ſentence, which ſeemed rather a favour than a puniſhment, gave many people great offence: wherefore thoſe who favoured the doctor went out of the houſe rejoicing, with the duke of Queenſberry and other peers, who, in their voting on this queſtion, ſhamefully deſerted the earl of Godolphin's party, forgetful of their promiſes and his favours, and went to regale themſelves to dinner.

IN the mean time the other peers, who were offended at the unſuitableneſs of the judgment, ordered the Oxford decree to be burnt at the ſame time and place with the doctor's ſermons: of which order great complaints were afterwards made by thoſe peers who favoured Dr. Sacheverell, as if it had been made by artifice and ſurprize: and The Oxford decree burnt.

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the earl of Godolphin complained alſo of many who had deceived him, eſpecially of the duke of Queenſberry.

DR. SACHEVERELL, in his return from the houſe, was conducted, as it were, in a grand eccleſiaſtical triumph into the city. He received the congratulations of all ſorts of people: he was huzzaed by the mob, like a prize-fighter: he boldly preſumed to intermeddle in other men's affairs: he debated matters of controverſy, and pronounced his award like an infallible judge. Sometimes he performed divine ſervice in the churches; ſometimes he made laws; and ſometimes in his cabals among his admirers, he determined concerning the adminiſtration of government: and ſo unſteady was he in every change of his fortune, as he wandered through all the various ſtages of life, that neither he himſelf, nor any body elſe, knew what ſort of a man he was. He would hardly condeſcend to ſpeak to his friends, or vouchſafe to beſtow a ſmile upon his acquaintance: he looked down upon his adverſaries with greater diſdain than ever; and reported among goſſiping women, how maliciouſly the minds of wicked men were incenſed againſt him.

SOME looked upon this haughty air of the doctor's as ridiculous vanity; while others ſaid it was downright inſanity: and thus inflated with pride, he went from houſe to houſe to congratulate them all on his and their common ſafety, followed by a train of link-boys and blackguards, who filled every place with clamour and tumult.

THE duke of Argyle hearing that the doctor was coming to return him thanks, commanded a ſervant to check him, and refuſed to receive him or his thanks: "Tell him," ſaid the duke, "what I did in "parliament was not at all done for his ſake."

THE judgment which was pronounced was very diſpleaſing to the houſe of commons, and gave very general occaſion of offence: that a criminal, whoſe conduct was not approved either by the parliament, the biſhops, or the people of England, ſhould eſcape with impunity, after the crime with which he was charged had been proved againſt him;

him; and that he ſhould have been acquitted as it were by the houſe of peers, was an object at once of ſurprize and indignation: for nothing could poſſibly have given the doctor greater pleaſure than to be relieved from the diſcharge of his duty, and at the ſame time to reap the benefit of a rich living, and of all the valuable preſents which were made to him by his party, who greatly applauded his fortitude and undaunted ſpirit. The lord viſcount Weymouth gave him fifty pounds; and ſome more, ſome leſs, according to their reſpective inclinations and abilities.

THE whigs being now diſheartened, were divided in their opinions: ſome were inclined to obey the queen; others to make reſiſtance: ſome adviſed that they ſhould throw up their offices and places; others thought that they ſhould keep them till they ſhould diſcover which way things were likely to turn: but Mr. Dolben, who had been one of the managers, died now of ſorrow. The duke of Marlborough was not without ſome hopes to recover the queen's favour. The lord Sommers, who thought that he had acquired great intereſt with her majeſty, adviſed his friends to keep their temper: and Mr. John Smith too, who had a ſhare in her majeſty's eſteem, ſtood his ground for ſome time. In ſhort, the more diſpaſſionate and prudent part of the whigs judged it beſt to weather the ſtorm, and wait with patience till the humour of abetting and applauding Sacheverell ſhould cool of itſelf, and through time die away: and many of them were in hopes that they ſhould ſtill be able to keep their places.

AT this time Sir John Holt, lord chief juſtice of the queen's bench, and the firſt lawyer in England, whoſe judgments were always moderate, and agreeable to the laws, died, univerſally lamented. To him ſucceeded Sir Thomas Parker, formerly a zealous Jacobite, and ſecond to none but Holt. At that time moſt of the privy counſellors were whigs: theſe ſtanding up for Parker, on account of his elegant defence of public liberty in the caſe of Dr. Sacheverell, her majeſty conſented to his promotion, though with ſome reluctance, for Parker was not ſo much diſtinguiſhed by outward ſhew or perſonal accompliſhments,

Sir Thomas Parker lord chief juſtice.

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pliſhments, as he was ſupported by numerous and hearty recommendations. Neither was Mr. Harley thought to be averſe to him: nor would the duke of Shrewſbury, lately made lord chamberlain, be preſent in the council when that office was diſpoſed of, leſt he ſhould prevent his promotion.

THIS duke's lenity and moderation, as well as his extraordinary politeneſs, which had been well known in king William's time, rendered him now very acceptable to moſt people: but as the times and ſeaſons vary, ſo it is natural for moſt men to vary with them. Nay, the queen herſelf, who was formerly ſo ambitious of the crown, began now to change the ſtate of affairs both at home and abroad, either out of wearineſs of royalty, or elſe of the war.

ON the proſpect of this the earl of Wharton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, thought it neceſſary to return, without delay, to his government, leſt any of the new miniſters ſhould have an eye towards it: nor was he envied by the dukes of either Somerſet or Argyle, to whoſe advancement he had been formerly inſtrumental. But when the earl of Rocheſter would have removed him, to make way for the duke of Ormond to that government, Mr. Harley thought fit to continue him another year; rather out of ſpite to Rocheſter, than favour to Wharton. Their correſpondence was often interrupted, either by old quarrels or ambition: for there had been an inveterate quarrel between Mr. Harley and the earl of Rocheſter, as I have ſhewn before: ſo that they did not act in concert, but only in order to ruin the duke of Marlborough. In this point too, though they were ſworn brethren, yet they could hardly agree which way to attempt it; ſo that their harmony was mixed with many diſcords. When the Marlborough party diſcovered this, and the nation was likely to be reduced to the ſame ſtate as before; till they could find out which of them ſhould be the moſt favoured on a turn of the times, ſome of them made profeſſions of adherence to Mr. Harley, and others to the earl of Rocheſter, the better to ſerve their own deſigns upon both. The dukes of Somerſet, Shrewſbury, and Argyle, gave

gave countenance to Harley; and ſo did Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. St. John: but the more zealous tories, and the Pretender's friends, for the moſt part, adhered to Rocheſter.

THE unhappy queen, tired out with the wranglings of ſcolding women, ſeduced by the chattering of her phyſicians, and withal moved with compaſſion for her brother, having inquired into the ſtrength of parties, not only began to change her miniſters, but her meaſures alſo.

MR. HARLEY judged it moſt prudent to proceed with moderation: and it is ſaid, he perſuaded his friends, and the queen herſelf, to diſſemble many things concerning the Pretender, on account of the duke of Marlborough's forces, and his extraordinary power both at home and abroad. He was alſo afraid of the authority and inconſtancy of the parliament. The tories therefore reſolved, that the preſent parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and another called. Mr. Harley, who had formed this whole ſcheme, gave many inſtructions to divers men of different parties, how to reconcile the minds of the people to him, and to render them ſubſervient to his meaſures. Many were inquiſitive to know his deſign. Nay, ſome ſaid he either had no deſign at all, or elſe that it was moſt artfully concealed, leſt by the diſſent of any one, the whole combination ſhould be broken. Thoſe who ſuppoſed they knew him thoroughly, own, that he was averſe to the Pretender: but if we may judge of him by his actions, men of all parties agreed in concluding that his deſigns were in his favour. And it is certain, that he affected to have it thought ſo.

AT this time a certain private gentleman of the whig party, but who had long kept an acquaintance with Mr. Harley, ſeeing a cloud gathering over his country, reſolved to travel abroad. Before he ſet out, Mr. Harley deſired a conference with him, and invited him to dine with him alone. Many things were freely diſcourſed of, according to their wonted familiarity and long acquaintance, concerning the inclinations of the people, and the perverſe diſpoſition of the allies; and the other ſhewed Mr. Harley, how hard and difficult a taſk he had undertaken. But they both perſiſted in their own opinions. After

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Mr. Harley had entreated him to ſtay here, the gentleman ſaid, Tell me, I pray Sir, is the parliament to be diſſolved? for this was very much ſuſpected; but Mr. Harley was not willing to anſwer him. Then, ſaid the gentleman, When you tell me that, I ſhall eaſily grant all you can ſay of the happy times to come: but conſider well that ſaying of Virgil,

Fertur equis auriga, nec audit currus habenas.

When that affair came to a point, and the queſtion about calling a new parliament was propoſed in the privy-council, the duke of Somerſet is ſaid to have oppoſed it; and that when it was reſolved on againſt his judgment, he thought it looked more like a conſpiracy, than good counſel. And now Mr. Harley found by experience, how difficult it is to make a navigation in a cock-boat. Now he began firſt to think of taking other meaſures: but all too late, and to no purpoſe. Not only this, but all other moderate counſels, were oppoſed by the tribe of inferior clergy, with Sacheverell at their head, whom the duke of Somerſet had lately been happy to ſee diſcharged, without puniſhment, by the judgment of the houſe of peers. It was in vain alſo for him to tell the clergy of gratitude, and of the good offices and ſervices he had done the church, when they had once got the power in their hands. The duke of Somerſet, therefore, ſuddenly threw up his office of maſter of the horſe, and entered into new meaſures in concert with the whigs. But now the government was upon a precipice, and they had loſt their opportunity.

Mr. Harley, who had never yet propoſed to himſelf any example for his imitation in the management of affairs, and hardly knew how to purſue the meaſures he had undertaken, being one day adviſed to reſign his office, made anſwer, We muſt improve all opportunities, and conſult about the time preſent. The news of this being reported to the duke of Marlborough then in Flanders, was very welcome to him.

In this critical time, the lord Halifax, who had held a long acquaintance and correſpondence with Mr. Harley, conſulted his own intereſt,

intereſt, and ſo effectually treated with him in private, that none of his relations were diſplaced.

THE lord Sommers, who, through the immoderate power of the Marlborough family, had been diſpleaſed with many of the tranſactions at home for ten years paſt, perceiving how ſome deſerted their party, and others made compromiſes, and being partly acquainted with the queen's intentions, in order to prevent the private animoſities of evil diſpoſed perſons from ruining the fortunes of all good men, who endeavoured to maintain the government according to the Revolution ſettlement, declared, that he had no averſion to Mr. Harley, provided the alliance ſhould be ſupported, and the kingdom not be betrayed to the enemy by an unſeaſonable peace. Mr. Harley is ſaid to have promiſed him all this, and that he would obſerve a medium between both parties, declaring, that he would ſpend his whole life in the ſupport of the public intereſt.

IT was indifferent to the lord Sommers, in whoſe favour the times turned, or who ſhould have the chief management of affairs, ſo long as due care ſhould be taken of the ſafety and glory of the kingdom. For he had held the bands of friendſhip with Marlborough but very ſlack theſe laſt ten years, ever ſince he had ſeen the conduct of the war changed from the plan which had been laid down for carrying it on by king William. Yet he would never be wanting to the public ſervice; nay, he was always a promoter of the duke of Marlborough's authority, while he behaved well: and therefore he thought he ought not now to be removed from the command of the army. He adviſed, that every thing might be got ready, in this time of war, for carrying it on effectually. Nor was Mr. Harley averſe to it, who declared, that he had always had the greateſt zeal for that ſervice: for which reaſon he was very acceptable to the Dutch; who alſo, out of regard to the merits of his father, and other kinſmen, were, at firſt, no way diſpleaſed with his promotion.

WHEN the proclamation was iſſued for a new parliament, all England was in an uproar; and ſo inflamed by the churchmen, that their fury

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fury was to determine of the members for the houſe of commons, and their elections, without any regard to the rights of the electors. For the canvaſſings and elections were carried on with ſuch feuds, as had never before been known in England. In many places they were carried by open violence. That firebrand of ſedition, Dr. Sacheverell, employed his whole time and pains to this purpoſe.

RELIGION was therefore looked upon as the only popular cauſe: in the ſupport of which all the furies were raiſed to procure votes, and ran together, as it were, to the funeral of the government and the public liberty.

WHEN Mr. James Stanhope ſtood a candidate, he was called a ſodomite, and other ſcandalous names, and charged with having profanely defiled the altars.

DR. SACHEVERELL, making a progreſs around the country, was looked upon as another Hercules for the church militant. Whereever he went, his emiſſaries were ſent before with his pictures; pompous entertainments were made for him, and a mixed multitude of country ſingers, fiddlers, prieſts and ſextons, and a mob of all conditions, male and female, crowded together to meet and congratulate him; among whom, drunkenneſs, darkneſs, and a furious zeal for religion, extinguiſhed all regard to modeſty. When this gueſt drew near with his guards, he found open houſes, lodging and entertainment ready provided for him in many country towns, as if he had been a demi-god: and days and nights were ſpent every where in ſhews and the clamorous noiſe of thoſe religious furies. In order to gain the more upon the minds of the multitude, wine, and the pleaſures of banqueting, were conſecrated, as it were, to religious uſes: whence aroſe ſuch a contagion of evils, that, in the country elections, ſome matters were carried on by deceit, and many by open force. For money was publicly beſtowed, and free treats, more than uſual, given to the voters. In many places, the doctor's pictures paſſed for ready money; but in a ſhort time they became of little value. For, when they ceaſed to be a novelty, people began to deſpiſe them; and the

the doctor himſelf, as an enemy to the government, and a contemptible tool of a party, was either rudely treated, or utterly refuſed admittance, in many places and companies.

When he was coming towards Ely, the people there were ſo provoked, that they threatened to do him a miſchief. And in many plaees they purſued him both with violent hands, and with curſes. This ſo alarmed him, that he ſuddenly turned ſhort, and more deſirous of money than the honour of martyrdom, made the beſt of his way to London; and his pictures, which were of late ſo highly prized, and pompouſly handed about, were now contemptuouſly applied to the baſeſt uſes, and paſted upon band-boxes. When he was very earneſt to have made an harangue to the company of the bank of England, the directors gave orders to turn him out of doors. For, as theſe men made great advantage by the war, they were friends to the duke of Marlborough: and they were ſo little alarmed at the doctor's curſes, that they did not think it worth while to purchaſe his favour at any rate. For, it is certain, he talks to the winds, who would perſuade either the Londoners to ſet any bounds to their gain, or ſuch a man as the doctor to his own vanity and inſolence.

These times were full of all kinds of inſolence, and the glorious actions and victories lately obtained were turned into ridicule: and, therefore, good men thought it adviſeable to withdraw themſelves from public affairs, till this ludicrous ſcene of congratulations ſhould be ended.

The earl of Sunderland, who was not very acceptable to the queen, was removed from his office of ſecretary, and the earl of Dartmouth preferred to his place. Mr. Creſſet, who had formerly been envoy to Hanover, was appointed to go thither again, but died ſuddenly. The earl of Rivers, who thereupon took that employment, ſet out on his embaſſy, and proceeded ſo far as the Hague, where he waited in expectation of letters. The common diſcourſe at that time was, that the queen would confer the command of her army in Flanders on the elector of Hanover; and Rivers flattered himſelf with the vain hope that he ſhould have

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the command of the confederate forces, as ſecond in command under the elector. But thoſe who gave credit to this, neither knew the elector of Hanover's ſentiments, nor the queen's intentions, who never thought it adviſable to arm the ſucceſſor to her throne with her own forces.

WHILE the earl of Rivers remained at the Hague, the duke of Shrewſbury adviſed him not to wait for letters there, but to proceed to Hanover. Rivers obeyed: and when he arrived there, he aſſured the elector, and the princeſs his mother, of her majeſty's zeal and affection for them; and acquainted them with what he had farther in charge, and that they had nothing to fear from the change of the miniſtry in England. After his return to England, he was diſpatched to Hanover again. Many wondered what the matter was. Many alſo ſuſpected it to be an artifice: and even Rivers himſelf, on ſerious reflection, thought he was impoſed on; but, leſt he ſhould be thought to have been an unſerviceable envoy, he never ceaſed to complain of his friends, till her majeſty was pleaſed to reward him. Of all thoſe who accompanied the earl of Rivers to Hanover, Mr. Henry Worſley was the moſt acceptable to the elector. Worſley gained very much on the affections of the elector, by ſtrong profeſſions of zeal and attachment to his family.

THESE embaſſies are ſaid to have been only deſigned to raiſe jealouſies among the allies, and to give the people a proof of the fidelity and conſtancy of the new miniſtry. Affectation of zeal for the houſe of Hanover, was of great advantage to them at this time, both in England and Holland. For many people, deceived by this appearance, fancied that both the government at home, and the war abroad, might be carried on by the very ſame maxims by which they had hitherto been conducted. Nay, the Dutch themſelves began to have a good opinion of Mr. Harley, being alſo very deſirous to have an end put to the war, if it could be done upon honourable terms.

MR. HARLEY, to whom it was natural to give fair words to every body, gained upon many people by his addreſs, who were far from being

being of his ſentiments. The duke of Shrewſbury, who was indeed an accompliſhed gentleman, and of long experience in buſineſs in king William's time, had the art to cover any thing that was doubtful or hard with wonderful ſmoothneſs; and managed many who were averſe to the duke of Marlborough, with ſingular temper. He ſometimes reſtrained the duke of Argyle from too much precipitation, and ſometimes regulated others by the balance of reaſon. He, therefore, ſo cultivated the arts of peace at home, that many were of opinion, England would ſtill ſupport its preſent pre-eminence in military glory. But the covetouſneſs of many men, and their ambitious hopes of honours and commands, were ſtill to be gratified. The miniſters, therefore, entreated the country gentlemen not to be impatient under the burden of the war for another year, which could not be ended the winter enſuing.

And, to convince the people that peace was the chief end of all their counſels, the earl of Godolphin, the lord high treaſurer, was removed from his office; and the queen's ſervants, who were taken in the late rebellious riots, and upon trial condemned for high treaſon, not only obtained her majeſty's free pardon, but alſo received other marks of favour.

The earl of Godolphin's place was filled with ſeven commiſſioners, of whom Mr. Harley was the firſt. For the duke of Shrewſbury, who prevented others from obtaining the envied treaſurer's ſtaff, is ſaid, either through difficulty of raiſing money, and his own want of experience, or with a view to ſomething better, to have yielded it of his own accord, very much againſt the will of the duke of Argyle, to Mr. Harley.

The earl of Rocheſter, who was the queen's uncle, and the firſt in dignity of his party, diſdaining that any other perſon ſhould be preferred before him, oppoſed all Mr. Harley's undertakings. The lord Cowper voluntarily reſigned his office of lord high chancellor, and was ſucceeded by Sir Simon Harcourt, in the cuſtody of the great ſeal: and many others were alſo turned out of their offices in the revenue,

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venue, commiſſions of the peace, and other places. The lord Raby uſed all the ways and means he could, underhand, to gain the favour both of the earl of Rocheſter and of Mr. Harley. Many alſo, whoſe principles and views were unfixed, both at home and abroad, did the ſame. And the lord Halifax, who was well acquainted with buſineſs, endeavoured, for ſome time, to manage his kinſmen and dependents by his counſels, ſince he could not protect them by his authority. The tories adviſed Mr. Harley not to agree to any compromiſe; and the earl of Sunderland gave ſimilar counſel to the whigs: for, as he was now turned out of his office, he endeavoured to bring every thing into confuſion.

In this unſettled ſituation of affairs, the ſtates-general ſent letters to her majeſty, with inſtructions alſo to her envoy, to declare to her majeſty their conſtant affection, and to take heed, that no damage ſhould be done to their republic or the common cauſe, by the preſent changes. The new miniſters, highly incenſed at this, inſinuated to the queen, that this was injurious to her majeſty, and not to be endured; and that the Dutch would take upon them to manage the affairs of England, and to preſcribe laws to princes.

The queen, on this, was ſo provoked, that ſhe reſolved to recal the lord viſcount Townſhend from his embaſſy. But that nobleman remained unmoved, by either the awe of power, or the calumnies of envy. Nor could either the intereſt and expectation of his friends, or the fear of his enemies, or the dangerous ſtate of the times, or his relation to Mr. Harley, ever divert him from the right courſe.

The Dutch, by their envoy, aſſured the queen, that they never had taken upon them to preſcribe laws to her majeſty. But yet, that they had a right, both by treaties and by the law of nations, to obſerve the change of affairs every where, and to conſult their own ſafety, and that of their allies; and that they were far from any intention to give her majeſty the leaſt offence, or ſuſpicion of offence.

Mr. Harley perſuaded his friends to let the friendſhip of the Dutch cool of itſelf by degrees, rather than to break the bond of it at once in a heat;

a heat; and therefore the queen declared, that ſhe would not make any alteration in the conduct of the war; and continued the duke of Marlborough in the command of the army.

In order to renew the conferences in Holland, about explaining ſome of the articles propoſed for peace, the French king, as I have already ſaid, deſtined Monſ. Pettecum to come to Paris. On his return to the Hague, Pettecum, taking uncertain things for certain, made many reports to ſhew the French king's earneſt deſire for a peace: as to particulars, he ſaid, he expected his majeſty's commands in a ſhort time. French overtures for a peace.

When theſe came to hand, as they were not materially different from the confederates demands, the ſtates-general and the plenipotentiaries, as above related, did not think fit utterly to reject them. But as the French plenipotentiaries inſiſted, that king Philip ſhould retain Sicily and Naples with the other dominions of which he was now in poſſeſſion in Italy, and the adjacent iſlands, conditions to which the confederates refuſed to agree, that conference was broken off. At the requeſt of the French, however, the confederates returned: and, upon ſeveral propoſals, ſeveral conferences were renewed.

The French, after the reduction of Doway, inſiſted, that king Philip ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Sicily and Sardinia. But neither yet did the French give any ſecurity for the performance of their propoſals, nor for the main point, the delivering up of Spain. All they alleged was, that they would ſend the king an account of their demands; and that they expected his orders in a few days. At length they deſired paſſports to return to France; upon which the deputies of the ſtates took their leave of them.

After this, they ſent notice to Monſ. Pettecum, that they had at laſt received their king's commands, and were deſirous of another conference with the ſtates deputies, to prevent the farther effuſion of blood. When they met again, the French ſpake in higher terms, explained themſelves, and departed. And now the Dutch perceived, that the

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French king was in hopes of obtaining a peace from ſome other quarter; and the nearer the Dutch advanced towards them, the farther the French retreated.

In the mean time, Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's miniſter, oppoſed the conferences, and every thing that the French had demanded. For, he ſaid, to yield up Sicily to king Philip, was in effect to take away from king Charles the kingdom of Naples; and to give the iſlands on the coaſt of Tuſcany to any but the emperor, would be to deprive him of his right, and to kindle a new war in Italy.

The Dutch were now at a loſs what meaſures to take. They ſuſpected the queen of England: and the emperor's ſchemes, who was alſo their ally, were manifeſtly pernicious to their intereſts. Thoſe who came over from England into Holland, earneſtly preſſed the lord Townſhend to conclude a peace, if poſſible, on any fair terms. He anſwered them, that the French king had no deſign in theſe conferences to make a peace: that the greater hopes the French king conceived of a peace from England, the more he ſtood at a diſtance from the Dutch, and declined the conferences. And now, at laſt, D'Uxelles and Polignac reſolved to leave the Dutch territories: and, when they had got their paſſports, they wrote a letter on the 10th day of July, to the grand penſionary; wherein they laid on him the blame of their departure, and the miſcarriage of their negociation; calling God and man to witneſs, that the French king was not to be charged with the effuſion of ſo much blood, and heavily lamenting the miſeries of the people under ſo great a load of taxes. But it is well known how undeſervedly theſe imputations were laid on the penſionary Heinſius, who, from the very beginning of the war, had looked upon it as burthenſome and tedious. Libels were publiſhed on both ſides. The Dutch ordered an account of what had paſſed in the conferences to be printed, that the whole world might judge of the diſpoſition of both parties. And De Boſque, who was maſter of various ſorts of learning, and a fine pen, wrote in favour of the French king. That unſteady man now highly praiſed the Engliſh, whom he had formerly reflected on, as not underſtanding their own intereſt.

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At this time, as the Engliſh were greatly diſordered in their minds, the French were no leſs diſtempered in their bodies: for in Picardy a peſtilential fever broke out; and beſides the fever, a famine.

The French king, who had made a ſhew of recalling his forces out of Spain, commanded them now to halt on the frontiers of that kingdom. He alſo privately diſpatched an ambaſſador to king Philip, to comfort him with the hopes of a peace, and to congratulate him on the birth of a ſon.

Signor Foscarini, the Venetian ambaſſador in Holland, who had been flattered with the hopes of a cardinal's hat, finding now that he was not able to procure a peace for the French king, laid his diſappointment ſo heavily to heart, that he fell ſick and died.

In the mean time the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, finding that they could neither prevent the conference, nor agree to the French king's offers, had ſent their reinforcements before, with all the neceſſary ſupplies, into Flanders, and reſolved to ſet out for the camp in the month of April; entruſting the negociations for peace with the lord Townſhend and count Zinzendorf. The count had in his train a certain Swiſs, of obſcure birth and mean education, who, having paſſed through ſeveral countries, all the ſtages of life, and all degrees of vice, in order to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord and confuſion, was wont to write to prince Eugene, and conſtantly to teaze count Zinzendorf with his idle notions about peace and war, the ſecret deſigns of the queen of England, the intereſt of the Germans, and the appointment of a governor of the Netherlands.

Prince Eugene, who was not a forward ſpeaker, before he ſet out for the army, is ſaid to have made a ſpeech to the ſtates-general to this effect:

"My Lords,

"The French king is now well nigh reduced to the laſt extremity: "he makes a ſhew of deſiring, and ſends plenipotentiaries to treat of

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" conditions of peace, not becauſe his inclinations are really pacific, " but becauſe the neceſſity of his affairs obliges him to aſſume a pa- " cific appearance. Thoſe embaſſies from France I have always re- " garded, and ſtill regard, as ſuſpicious: of their effects you have " long ago been witneſſes: ambaſſadors come to you from France not " to receive, as might become an humble and vanquiſhed kingdom, " but to dictate the terms of peace, to preſcribe laws, to impoſe the " yoke of ſlavery on the conqueror. When they complain that your " laſt demands are hard and barbarous, do they hope that they ſhall " be able a ſecond time to deceive you with fair words and tears? " What, my lords, can be weaker or more diſhonourable than to be " directed in affairs of the greateſt moment by the counſels and " ſchemes of our enemies? What are the demands of the French " king? and what the ends he has in view? That ye ſhould turn " your arms againſt Spain, leaving that power in peace and ſafety, " from which there is more danger to be apprehended than from any " other nation. The French king, beſides Italy, Sardinia, Gibraltar, " Majorca, and Minorca, is willing to give up to you Flanders, which " you have already reduced by your victorious arms, and which you, " at this moment, hold with ſtrong garriſons. What is this but to " trifle with you as children? to add mockery to inſult?

" They who are advocates for a peace are pleaſed to call me a fo- " menter of diſcord, and a friend to war. Of ſuch men I ſhall only " ſay, that they have the intereſt of the enemy more at heart than " your's: you yourſelves are ſenſible that they have always been " diſaffected to your excellent civil conſtitution. The language they " now hold is: 'The French king is not to be driven to deſpair; France " ought not to be utterly ruined; all power is not to be thrown into " the hands of the emperor; care alſo is to be taken leſt we find a new " enemy, both by land and ſea, in the Engliſh.'

" I have already ſaid that I did not approve of theſe embaſſies from " France. What purpoſe have they ſerved but to increaſe our diſ- " ſentions? Shall I, whom they call the *Pupil of war*, becauſe I have " been trained up in arms, and ſpent the prime of my life, and exerted

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" my utmoſt endeavours both in camps and princes' courts, to ſecure " my friends from dangers, and have thereby acquired great honours, " a moderate eſtate, and ſome reputation, if I have any: ſhall I, my " lords, now, after all the toils I have undergone, and the hard ſer- " vices of war, become an advocate and promoter of peace, whenever " it ſuits the French king's conveniency? No, I am againſt making " peace with France at this time, and I will tell you why: becauſe the " terms offered are both diſhonourable and dangerous; and becauſe " the French king has neither the power nor the inclination to per- " form them.

" To ſpeak plainly, my lords, I am at a loſs to conceive how ye can " entertain hopes of peace, on grounds ſo vain and fallacious. What " proofs have ye of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's diſpoſition to peace? " At firſt your excuſe for ſo haſtily deſiring a peace, that ye were " overpowered and oppreſſed, though a miſerable, was a juſt one. " But now that ye are conquerors, this excuſe no longer exiſts: to " make a peace is not indeed in your power, becauſe it neither can, " nor ought to be made, without the conſent of all your allies. What " peace can ye have with a monarch who has ſo often broken his moſt " ſolemn engagements? or what peace can that monarch have with " you, who have oppoſed his domination, and at this moment keep " him out of Italy, and other countries?

" BEWARE, my lords, leſt in your precipitate anxiety for a preſent, " ye loſe the means of obtaining a laſting peace, and defraud your- " ſelves of the fruits of a tedious war. To fair and ſubmiſſive words, " to an artful ſemblance of equity, oppoſe that cool recollection and " vigour of mind which become men deliberating concerning the moſt " important intereſts of nations. I am not ſuch a fomenter of war, as " to be an enemy to peace: but I dread the name of a peace, when it " is intended only as a covering for war."

THE duke of Marlborough alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. " My " lords," ſaid he, " if we would enjoy the bleſſing of peace, we muſt " yet carry on the war: if we neglect the war, we ſhall never have

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"peace. The ſeaſon of the year calls, and the unreaſonable demands "of the enemy provoke us, however reluctant, to the field: ſuffer "not, therefore, all your great preparations to be made to no "purpoſe."

AND now prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, not to let ſlip any opportunity of action, exerted their utmoſt care and attention to carry on the war with vigour. Having recruited their forces, they ſent the earl of Albemarle into Flanders to concert meaſures with lieutenant-general Cadogan for reducing the caſtle of Mortaigne; which was ſoon attacked and taken, as ſoon retaken by the enemy, and taken by Cadogan again.

IN the mean time the confederate forces being aſſembled, the army marched in two columns towards the frontiers of France. The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, and prince Eugene the left: their march was ſo expeditious and ſudden, that breaking through the French lines, and ſurmounting all difficulties in their way, the former encamped at Pontavendin, and the latter at Pontaby, in the ſpace of two days.

AT this place they conſulted how to proceed: and ſo perfect was the harmony which ſubſiſted between theſe commanders, that they ſeemed to be animated by one ſoul. In this quarter the French lines were defended by the marſhal de Monteſquieu and the chevalier de Luxemburgh, a ſoldier of great reputation. But, the next day, the prince of Wirtemberg and lieutenant-general Cadogan were detached to attack them. They ſoon entered the lines without any loſs: nor was Luxemburgh, with his forces, able to ſtop the confederates march; for the French ſoldiers durſt not now look the allies in the face: whenever their commanders would have ventured an engagement, the affrighted ſoldiers refuſed to obey orders, and turned their backs on the firſt report of the approach of the enemy.

The French lines ſurpriſed.

WHEN Luxemburgh's party were thus put to flight, the prince of Heſſe Caſſel was detached to purſue, but could not overtake them.

On the 22d of April, the army under the duke of Marlborough paſſed the Scarpe, and encamped at Vitry. The army under prince Eugene encamped on the other ſide of the river, in order to beſiege Doway. The enemy, who always had kept themſelves covered behind marſhes, trenches, and ſtrong fortifications, being now aſſured of the confederates deſign, and that they had paſſed the Scarpe, leſt they ſhould be taken at a diſadvantage, retired towards Cambray, to cover the interior parts of France: and the French king himſelf, having loſt the glory of his arms, was in ſuch a conſternation, that he had prepared to retreat beyond the Loire on the firſt diſaſter.

Doway beſieged.

On the 24th day of April 1710, Doway was inveſted by the confederates. That city was ſtored with plenty of all things which are of uſe in war; and had the beſt farrieries and founderies for caſting cannon in all the dominions of France. The confederates alſo, being employed in their lines of circumvallation, took care to have cannon and ammunition brought up from the neighbouring magazines.

On the 1ſt of May, prince Eugene ſuddenly attacked and took the caſtle of Pignonville, from whence his men had been expoſed to be frequently haraſſed. The charge of the ſiege was intruſted to the princes of Frieſland and Anhalt. On the 4th of May the ground was viewed, and late at night the trenches were opened, and the works carried on with ſo great expedition, that before break of day, none of the workmen could be ſeen from the walls. When the beſieged diſcovered the workmen, they immediately ſet themſelves to work, day and night, to undermine and to gall them with their cannon. But this attempt was to no purpoſe: they therefore reſolved to ſally out of the city with a party of one thouſand foot and three hundred dragoons, under the command of the duke de Montamar; with which they overthrew both the workmen and the works. Colonel Sutton's regiment here ſuffered very much, and was repulſed: but being immediately ſupported by major-general Macartney's regiment, they recovered their ſpirits, and bravely drove them back again into their own works.

On

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ON the 17th day, when the beſiegers had carried on their trenches a great way, the beſieged ſallied in great numbers out of the city, and fell upon colonel Preſton's regiment, which was then upon guard: the colonel perceiving the enemy's deſign, ſuſtained their aſſault with great bravery, drove them out of the trenches, and forced them back into the city with great ſlaughter.

IN the mean time the marſhal de Villars having drawn his forces together, reſolved, in a council of war held at Cambray, to raiſe the ſiege of Doway, according to the orders he had received from the king his maſter: for Lewis was now wont to command his own armies, in his court at Verſailles, in whatever part of the world they were. Intelligence of this being brought to the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, they ordered two camps to be marked out, the roads to be levelled, and bridges to be laid over the Scarpe, by which means the two wings of the army, which were now divided by the river, might on any occaſion be eaſily united. While preparations were making in the camp to fight the enemy, the troops employed in the ſiege, although they laboured under many difficulties, carried on their works with great diligence and application.

AFTER Villars had ſtood ſome time in view of the confederates, and raiſed an expectation of ſome extraordinary attempt, he marched off to a diſtance, becauſe his ſoldiers were ſtruck with terror, and not without reaſon, at the valour of the confederates, and their expertneſs in arms: for the confederates were in high ſpirits, and very eager at that time to fight; inſomuch that they are ſaid to have been ſometimes more forward than their commanders.

THE duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene perceiving that the marſhal de Villars's only deſign was to prolong the ſiege, ordered their troops to return, and ſoon, by their extraordinary labour and redoubled diligence, made ample amends for the time they had loſt.

ON

On the 29th day of May, the beſieged made another ſally, and fell upon the right wing of the beſiegers, and penetrated into the trenches: but they were repulſed with great courage by the confederates, and driven back to their party with the loſs of twenty-five officers.

On the 5th of June the beſiegers made an aſſault upon the glacis of the counterſcarp: and when they had made themſelves maſters thereof, they made a lodgment there, and galled the beſieged in the works with bombs, cannon, and all ſorts of fire-arms, in order to drive them from the traverſe.

On the 16th they ſprung a mine, whereby the beſieged were forced to abandon all their armories.

On the 24th the prince of Anhalt, making an aſſault, took poſſeſſion of two ravelins; for the beſieged were ſo much weakened by hard ſervice, that they did not now defend their works with the ſame vigour as before.

On the 25th of June a flag was hung out upon the walls in token of a ſurrender; whereupon hoſtages were exchanged: but, in anſwer to the demands of the beſieged, they were told, the confederates would not allow the garriſon any other terms than thoſe of priſoners of war; and that they would not ſign any capitulation for the city, without including Fort Scarpe alſo.

This condition was refuſed by the marquis Albergotti, the governor, a brave and experienced officer; and the hoſtages on both ſides were ſent back. But, on a freſh ſignal the next day, they were exchanged again: and it was agreed, that the city and fort ſhould both be ſurrendered; that the garriſon ſhould have liberty to march out, with ſome waggons, and two pieces of cannon; and that the ſoldiers might march out with their ſwords, but without any fire-arms. Doway ſurrendered.

These articles were ſigned on the 27th of June: and on the 29th general Albergotti marched out of the city, with four thouſand of his men.

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men. Lieutenant-general Hompeſch was made governor in his place, by the authority of the ſtates-general, who had been at the expence of the ſiege.

THE French had no ſooner evacuated Doway, than the chancellor of the univerſity made an elegant ſpeech to the generals of the army, craving their protection; and declaring his readineſs to obey them, and to bear the ſame allegiance to his new ſovereign as he had before ſhewn to the French king. The generals very well knew that this ſort of men make no ſcruple to transfer their allegiance, or to break it; for it is a principle either natural to them, or elſe derived, as they think, from Divine authority, to obey the preſent powers: nor did they make any difficulty to pray for the queen of Great Britain by name, and to wiſh proſperity and ſucceſs to the ſtates-general.

AFTER the reduction of Doway, the confederates advanced directly towards the enemy; who thought fit to keep themſelves cloſe in their ſtrong entrenchments and well fortified camps, rather than to give any opportunity for an engagement, or to accept it when offered by the confederates; for the French were ſo terrified at the name of Marlborough, that all their armies avoided every occaſion of meeting him.

THE confederates, when they had levelled their works, repaired the fortifications of Doway; where they put a garriſon of five regiments, beſides their wounded men: then extending themſelves along the frontiers of France, they encamped between the rivers Lave and Lens, having the Scarpe in their front; and the marſhal de Villars retired towards the city of Arras, and the towns in that neighbourhood. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, finding it impracticable to take Arras, becauſe the enemy's army lay before it, reſolved to lay ſiege to Bethune: and on the 14th day of July they detached twenty-three battalions and twenty-three ſquadrons that way, to ſecure the paſſes.

Bethune beſieged;

THE conduct of that ſiege was intruſted to general Schuylenberg, who was well experienced both in the arts of war and fortification, and to

to general Fagel. On the 23d day of July the confederates opened the trenches: the next day a great number of the French ſallied out of the city, and a ſharp ſkirmiſh enſued, wherein a hundred men were killed on both ſides, and as many wounded. On the 1ſt day of Auguſt the beſiegers began to play the cannon and batter the works, without intermiſſion. In the mean time they found means to draw off the water out of the ditches: after this, all things being ready for an aſſault, the beſieged obſerving the weakneſs of the works, and deſpairing of being able to defend the town, were very preſſing with lieutenant-general Vauban to ſurrender it.

On the 29th day of Auguſt the capitulation was drawn up and ſigned: on which lieutenant-general Vauban marched out with ſeven hundred men on the 31ſt, and major-general Keppel was appointed governor of the town. and taken.

While theſe things were tranſacting at Bethune, prince Eugene ſent out his right wing on the 27th day of Auguſt to forage in the fields in the very front of the enemy's camp. Villars was ſo highly provoked at this inſult, that in order to correct their inſolence, he commanded a much greater number of his troops thither, to drive away the Germans. When the foragers were attacked, as well as the troops which guarded them, they ran up and down, and at laſt threw themſelves into a neighbouring town. Though this coſt the confederates ſome ſmall loſs of ſervants and cattle, yet it conduced to expoſe the folly of the French. The marſhal de Villars followed his men; and ſeeing the foragers ſurrounded, he perſuaded them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners: but they reſolved to defend themſelves with their ſcythes, rakes, daggers, ſtones, or whatever other weapons they could lay hold on. Villars, enraged at their obſtinacy, gave orders to his ſoldiers to fall upon them ſword in hand, and cut them in pieces: but advice was immediately brought him, that prince Eugene was juſt at hand to ſupport his foragers. The marſhal, ſuſpecting this to have been a ſtratagem of prince Eugene's to draw him to a general battle, ſounded a retreat, and ſaved himſelf by flight.

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THIS was a caution to the marſhal de Villars not to be too haſty in future to engage with foragers. The confederates alſo were admoniſhed by this loſs in their foraging, to be more guarded and vigilant: but ſtill there were ſkirmiſhes every day in ſight of both armies.

IN remembrance of theſe actions in the field, a medal was ſtruck in England, with this inſcription:

VALLO GALLOR. DIRUTO ET DUACO CAPTO, MDCCX.

WHEN the enemy could not by any means be induced to give an opportunity of fighting, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough began to think of undertaking ſome other ſieges. Arras could not be approached on account of the marſhal de Villars's army lying between them and that city: they therefore reſolved to lay ſiege to Aire and St. Venant at once.

THIS was alſo oppoſed in the council of war, by the duke of Marlborough's adverſaries; who alleged that theſe towns, when taken, would be of no advantage: but at that time, whatever was propoſed by the duke of Marlborough, was to be oppoſed, that his ſucceſsful enterprizes might be repreſented in England even as crimes, and his gallant actions turned to his reproach.

IT is true theſe garriſons were not of great importance in themſelves: but as he intended alſo to lay ſiege to Calais that ſeaſon, theſe garriſons would not only be of great uſe, but were alſo neceſſary to be taken, as well for the convenience of paſſage, and the ſecurity of a retreat, as for keeping open a communication with the garriſons and magazines in French Flanders.

THOSE who oppoſed this, cried out, do not make the French king deſperate; do not alter the nature of things: Calais, by its natural ſituation, belongs to France; and, beſides, it will be difficult to lay ſiege to it, as it has a mole towards the ſea, and marſhes and waters all around

around it. Theſe, and ſuch like, were the objections now made by thoſe who plainly aſſerted the French intereſt; but ſuch as the valour and wiſdom of our anceſtors had always deſpiſed and refuted.

THE princes of Anhalt and Frieſland were intruſted with the conduct of theſe ſieges, and marching along the French frontiers, came thither on the 6th day of September, and inveſted both the places.

St. Venant and Aire beſieged.

THE prince of Frieſland came up to attack St. Venant with great reſolution. But as he had neither a ſufficient number of cannon, nor quantity of powder, his ammunition was to be brought to him upon the river Lys, under a convoy of twelve hundred foot. But Monſ. de Ravignan, the French governor of Ypres, receiving intelligence of this by his ſpies, marched out to intercept them with four thouſand men; who, falling upon the confederates by ſurpriſe, killed two hundred of them, and put the reſt to flight, with the loſs of all their ammunition. The French blew up a large quantity of the powder, and ſpoiled and ſunk the cannon and balls, and other neceſſaries, and returned ſafe back to Ypres.

THE confederates, provoked at this diſaſter, ſent a party of eight thouſand men to the Lys, for a guard to the navigation of that river for the future. When this was done, and freſh ammunition brought up to the prince of Frieſland's camp, he carried on the ſiege with ſuch courage and application, that the town of St. Venant capitulated on the 29th day of September: on the 30th the governor marched out, and was afterwards accuſed of negligence, and caſt into priſon.

St. Venant taken.

ON the 12th of September, the prince of Anhalt began to play his cannon againſt Aire. On the 26th, the confederates, by an extraordinary effort, made themſelves maſters of ſome of the works, which the enemy endeavoured ſoon after to recover; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter.

ON the 23d of September, the enemy was twice defeated; and there were ſlight ſkirmiſhes every day before the camp. The confederates

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were ſometimes in want of ammunition; and, at the ſame time, laboured under great hardſhips both of weather and ſoil.

On the 20th day of October, the beſiegers took poſſeſſion of a part of the covered-way; but not without ſuffering a great ſlaughter. On the 23d, a party of dragoons, ſallying out, overthrew the beſiegers works. On the 26th alſo, the beſiegers made another ſally in great numbers, and at firſt threw the beſiegers into great confuſion: but others coming up to their relief, they ſoon recovered themſelves, and a ſharp engagement enſued, in which the French were repulſed with great loſs.

On the 2d day of November, while the beſiegers were aſſaulting the two ſalient angles of the counterſcarp, the beſieged came out again, and made an obſtinate reſiſtance, but were forced to yield to the valour of the beſiegers. Then they ſprung their mines, in hopes thereby to ſtop the purſuers; and, on the other hand, the purſuers endeavoured, by their fireworks, to cut off their retreat. After this, the beſiegers carried on their approaches as far as they thought proper.

When the works were finiſhed, and all things prepared for making an aſſault, the confederates began to lay bridges acroſs the river. On the ſight of this, the governor *, giving a ſignal of ſurrender, treated about the articles, which were more honourable than are commonly granted in war. The governor marched out of the town on the 12th, with forty thouſand men and four pieces of large cannon, and other things, which were marks of honour to them, but of no uſe to the beſiegers, and took the road towards St. Omers.

Aire taken.

When Aire was evacuated, the government of that place was conferred on the count de Naſſau, ſon of the late veldt-marſhal D'Auverquerque, worthy of ſuch a father, highly diſtinguiſhed by his military experience, and in great eſteem with all men.

The ſoldiers, who were worn out with hard labour in the ſeveral ſieges, as the ſeaſon was now far advanced, were ordered into winter-

* Goſbrienus.

quarters.

quarters. All thoughts of taking Calais were for the preſent neceſſarily deferred, as ſuch towns as this might probably ſtand a longer ſiege than men are apt to expect. The actions of this year were commemorated by a medal with this inſcription:

BETHUNIA FANO SANCTI VENANTIJ ET ARIA CAPTIS,
INSPECTANT. GALL. CENT. MILL. MDCCX.

AFTER the duke of Marlborough had diſpoſed his army in their winter-quarters, he embarked for England; and, at the ſame time, the lord viſcount Townſhend, being recalled, took his leave of the ſtates-general. The viſcount, by the courteſy of his behaviour, and all kinds of good offices, did ſo much honour to his embaſſy, that he left behind him among the Dutch a very deep regret at his loſs. But the more highly he ſtood in the eſteem of all men abroad, the more he was afterwards expoſed to envy at home, and all the good offices he had done in his embaſſy were turned to his reproach.

MR. STANHOPE, now appointed general of the army in Spain, embarked for that kingdom, in order to proceed to the camp, leaving the parliament, as if he had foreſeen what would happen. As ſoon as the fleet arrived at Barcelona, king Charles gave orders for his troops to be drawn together out of their winter-quarters. Count Staremberg aſſembled them at the river Ebro: and the French preparing, as it were, to leave Spain, the Spaniards alſo aſſembled together in other places, to defend their king and their country by the ſole valour of their own national troops

KING CHARLES, having encamped at Tortoſa, moved from thence to Balaguer. General Stanhope, who was thoroughly inſtructed in the queen's intentions, before he left England, and underſtanding how difficult it would be, in a ſhort time, to raiſe money, conſulted with king Charles: he thought nothing could be more dangerous than delay, either to the king or the common cauſe; eſpecially when matters were in ſo great confuſion in England. He, therefore, being very eager to fight, ſaid, "They ought to uſe their utmoſt. en-

"deavours

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"deavours to bring the enemy to an engagement while the French "were yet on the frontiers; nor did count Staremberg oppoſe this "counſel, provided the enemy ſhould give them any fair oppor-"tunity."

GENERAL STANHOPE, making various marches and counter-marches, had ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, and drew the Spaniſh horſe from their party, and ſo by degrees led them on to a battle. The great point of conteſt between the commanders of the oppoſite armies, now was, which of them ſhould gain poſſeſſion of Balaguer, which was an uneven place. Stanhope deſired nothing more than to bring this matter to a deciſive trial in ſight of both the kings.

KING PHILIP, obſerving that the town of Balaguer was a very troubleſome neighbour to the Spaniards, who were poſted in Lerida, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of it. And therefore, having paſſed the river Segra, he ſent out a detachment to take poſſeſſion of a place fit for a camp between Balaguer and Lerida, thereby either to intercept king Charles's communication, or to draw him out of his camp. This being diſcovered to king Charles, he thought it neceſſary to prevent them, and ſent out general Stanhope, with a thouſand dragoons, and as many foot, to intercept the enemy in their march. The whole conteſt was for expedition, which of them ſhould firſt gain the hills and the banks of the river. General Stanhope made ſuch long marches, that he prevented the enemy, and ſecured all the paſſes. When king Philip was informed of it, he thought it neceſſary to make all poſſible haſte thither to come to an engagement.

IN the mean time, general Stanhope drew up his army. The van was commanded by lieutenant-general Carpenter, and the major-generals Frankenberg and Pepper. Stanhope advanced at their head againſt the enemy with great bravery, and put the Spaniſh horſe to flight. Theſe, in their flight, fell in with their own foot, and put them into diſorder. And now general Stanhope had nothing to do, but to fall on the forces which the count de Villadarias had led acroſs the river. But all king Philip's foot were put into ſuch confuſion by the danger

Battle of Almanara.

of

of the horſe, that ſome of them immediately fled to the mountains and other places of ſafety; others threw down their arms again, and therefore were all put to the ſword.

THE ſhades of night afforded ſafety to the fugitives. King Charles, who was well ſkilled in the art of war, and poſſeſſed great moderation of temper, gave orders to ſtop the purſuit of the flying enemy. Of the Spaniards, a thouſand were killed in this battle, and four hundred of the confederates; of which the principal perſons were the earl of Rochford, an Engliſh peer, and count Naſſau, men of ſingular merit. There were four hundred Spaniards taken priſoners, but very few of the confederates.

THE Spaniards retreated with all poſſible ſpeed to Lerida; the confederates ſtaid at Almenara to refreſh themſelves, and recover their ſpirits after the fatigue of the battle. King Philip, in order to repair his loſſes, diſpatched letters immediately into France to ſecure himſelf of a retreat and freſh ſuccours from his grandfather, in caſe he ſhould find himſelf unable to ſtand his ground in Spain. The French king, in conſequence of theſe letters, ſent orders to his forces in thoſe parts, not to leave the frontiers of Spain, but to place garriſons in the Pyrenean mountains, and to continue there until further orders.

IN commemoration of this victory, a medal was ſtruck in England, with this inſcription:

PUGNA EQUESTRIS
HISPANIS AD ALMENARUM VICTIS,
JULIJ MENSIS MDCCX.

WHEN the duke de Vendoſme received advice of this unſucceſsful battle in Spain, he aſſembled the forces on the frontiers of that kingdom, and prepared to haſten to the ſupport of king Philip, as ſoon as he ſhould receive the French king's orders. Philip alſo ſent orders to the marquis de Baye, his general, on the fontiers of Portugal, to return. The count de Villadarias was greatly blamed in the Spaniſh

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court, for voluntarily reſigning the command of the army. King Charles, thinking he had now no time to loſe, proceeded in his courſe by long marches.

When king Philip had notice that the enemy had paſſed the river Ebro at the town of Pina, and was on a march towards Arragon, he thought it proper to haſten his march to Saragoſſa; and when he arrived there, he ordered a camp to be ſtrongly fortified in a convenient place near the monaſtery of the Carthuſians.

King Charles made no leſs haſte, and had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes on the march with the enemy's rear. At length, following them cloſe, he encamped on the neighbouring hills. Count Staremberg and the general Stanhope immediately went up to a place of eminence, to take a view of king Philip's camp, and all the avenues to it; and thoſe of king Philip's, did the like on their ſide. Stanhope and Staremberg, reporting to king Charles what they had obſerved, declared their opinions what was now proper to be done; and in a council called by the king, it was reſolved to attack the enemy.

The more zealouſly the people of Caſtile were attached to king Philip, the more were thoſe of Arragon averſe to him. Their diſaffection was occaſioned by the loſs of their ancient privileges in thoſe parts; and therefore they now ſecretly favoured the cauſe of king Charles. For, in former times, there had been continual wars between the kings of Arragon and the other petty kings and provinces of Spain, till the time of king Ferdinand II. and his queen Iſabella, when, the Moors being ſubdued, and the greater part of them either deſtroyed or exterminated out of the kingdom, all the provinces of Spain were united together into one monarchy, of which Caſtile became the principal, and the ſeat of government. The people of Arragon highly reſented this, and now revived in their minds the remembrance of their former injuries, eſpecially when they underſtood, that king Philip had reſolved to deprive the ſeveral provinces of the rights that had been reſerved to them, and to govern all Spain in an arbitrary manner, according to the example of the French kings.

King

Battle of Saragoſſa.

KING CHARLES, being deſirous to come to a battle, gave orders to his ſoldiers to be ready on the 20th of Auguſt, by break of day, and drew up his army in two lines, as king Philip had alſo drawn up his. General Belcaſtel led on the confederates againſt the enemy, and threw the Spaniſh horſe into diſorder, which were afterwards, at noon, vigorouſly attacked by general Stanhope. The general was firmly oppoſed by major-general Mahoni, an Iriſhman, and lieutenant-general Amenzega, as well as by the royal guards and Walloons. But theſe were at laſt defeated, and count Staremberg alſo overthrew thoſe in the centre. At the ſight of this the reſt were in ſuch a conſternation, that the whole army was entirely routed. Some of them fled to Saragoſſa; others made off towards the mountains, many of whom in paſſing the Ebro, were carried down by the force of the ſtream. Many of them were alſo taken in the battle; ſo that the marquis de Bay could not bring together more than four thouſand to the camp at Tudella. King Philip, fatigued with the toils of the battle, and difficulties of his retreat, ſtopped not to take any reſt till he arrived at Taraſcon, a ſtrong town on the borders of Caſtile.

THIS victory was commemorated in England by a medal, with this inſcription:

HISPANIS PROFLIGATIS
AD CÆSARIAM AUGUSTAM,
AUG. IX. MDCCX.

AFTER this battle, king Charles made his entry into Saragoſſa; where the citizens opened their gates, and received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. They made not only freſh profeſſions of allegiance to him, but advanced a ſum of nine hundred thouſand crowns for his ſervice. And now Charles called a council, to conſult what courſe he was to take, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Great debates aroſe on this queſtion between the generals Staremberg and Stanhope. The former was very urgent to march by the way of Aranda, towards the frontiers of France, to prevent the French troops from repaſſing the mountains into Spain. But general Stanhope, in imitation of king William III. of England, inſiſted, in

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the firſt place, to march directly to Madrid; of which, when they ſhould be once in poſſeſſion, and have received the ſubmiſſion of the people, they might eaſily either prevent the French from coming to the aſſiſtance of king Philip, or drive them back again into their own country. King Charles, out of eagerneſs for the crown, immediately agreed with him in opinion, and reſolved firſt to go to Madrid; concluding, that from thence he might purſue king Philip whereſoever he was, without any danger to himſelf.

In the mean time the marquis de Bay, having taken poſſeſſion of Valladolid, king Philip reſolved, in caſe he ſhould be forced to quit Madrid, to go thither with the queen and their children.

Count Staremberg preſſed king Charles with great vehemence, to march firſt of all to the frontiers of Spain, leſt Philip ſhould find means to procure freſh troops, and renew the war. But king Charles was fixed in his reſolution, not to act as he had done four years before.

General Stanhope, therefore, to make good the advice he had given, marched before, with two thouſand horſe, and an equal number of foot. On the news of his approach, king Philip, with a view of returning into France, immediately departed from the capital; and carrying away with him the furniture of the royal palace, and the public money, with a large quantity of plate, he fled before general Stanhope, and arrived in ſafety at Valladolid. Don Antonio Sanguinetto was left behind at Madrid, to adminiſter juſtice, and govern the kingdom by the authority of king Philip, and to keep the ſubjects in obedience to their king.

General Stanhope entered Madrid in a furious paſſion. The citizens, zealouſly attached to king Philip, in many places raiſed mutinies, and in ſome tumults.

King Charles followed Stanhope by eaſy marches: and in a fit of zeal, paid his devotion by the way in the church of Neuſtra Signora d'Attochia. There he humbly invoked the Virgin Mother, to render

her propitious to him. But the ſaint continued neuter: and as both theſe kings were equally her adorers, ſhe ſhewed herſelf equally affected to both; and ſometimes favoured the one, and ſometimes the other.

King Charles enters Madrid;

THE next day, king Charles made his triumphant entry into Madrid. The people, in many places, crowded together in a tumultuous manner; and many of his ſoldiers were privately butchered by the citizens. When king Charles perceived how much the citizens were diſaffected to him ſince king Philip's queen had borne him a prince, he iſſued a proclamation, requiring all the citizens to ſwear allegiance to him. But when he ſaw this would not be any ſecurity to him, he left Madrid, reſolving to make Toledo the ſeat of his government. And now he repented of his reſolution to come to Madrid: and general Stanhope alſo perceived, that the crown of Spain was not ſo ſoon to be gained as that of England; and that great generals obtain advantages and honour, by deliberation and foreſight, and often even by delays, more than by fury and precipitation.

but ſoon leaves it again.

IN the mean time, the duke de Vendoſme, with the title of vicar of all Spain, marched his army out of Aquitaine, according to his inſtructions from the French king, to aſſiſt king Philip. In ſuch a dangerous juncture, the French king, unmindful of his promiſe, ſaid, that all the world would condemn him of the higheſt injuſtice and unnatural barbarity, if he ſhould not afford ſuccour to his own fleſh and blood in diſtreſs. And now, at laſt, it plainly appeared, as many had foreſeen, that the French king had ſet on foot all the conferences and negociations about peace with the confederates, without any other deſign, than merely to avoid the dangers with which he was then threatened. But there was not wanting ſome in England, at this time, who defended all theſe artifices of the French king, and his breach of faith, and approved all his fallacious conduct, contrary to juſtice, right, and the love of their country.

THE French marched night and day towards Spain, that they might have paſſed the mountains and ſtreights before they ſhould be diſcovered:

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vered: and after they had ſecured all the paſſes with good garriſons, and taken a view of the country, they came down from the mountains into the vallies in great numbers. They ſeized the fortified places, and ſecured all the roads; and endeavoured to confine the confederates between the Ebro and the Tajo, ſo as to cut them off from their proviſions. King Charles, on receiving intelligence of this, after long debates in the council, concerning their march, to prevent his being ſurrounded by the purſuing enemy, put himſelf at the head of a party of horſe, and returned with all ſpeed into Arragon, by the way of Alcala de la Henares.

THE generals Staremberg and Stanhope followed the king with all their forces; who, though not very agreeable to each other, conſulted together how to bring back the army, and reſolved, for the ſake of proviſions, to march in two bodies. Some of their ſoldiers ſtraggling through the fields were loſt: but the enemy durſt not attack their rear.

GENERAL STANHOPE, therefore, without meeting with any difficulties in his march, but previouſly ravaging the country, came on the 10th of December to Brihuega, a town very eaſy to be taken; and neglected to place garriſons in the paſſes, to ſtop the march of the enemy.

WHEN the duke de Vendoſme received intelligence of this, from Stanhope's miſtreſs, as it was reported, he diligently watched his motions, and paſſing the river, gave orders to aſſault the town. For, Stanhope had not provided for a retreat, while it was in his power to have done it with ſafety.

THE French being greatly encouraged by the weakneſs of the fortifications, and the want of all neceſſaries in the town, aſſaulted the walls with great reſolution; but they were repulſed, and the town was obſtinately defended for one whole day.

In the mean time general Stanhope, not knowing what meaſures to take, diſpatched ſome perſons to inform count Staremberg that he was ſurprized and ſurrounded by the enemy, and to deſire him, if poſſible, to join him in this extremity with his forces: but none of theſe could reach Staremberg's camp; for all the roads were full of enemies, or ſo infeſted by the Spaniards, that the meſſengers were intercepted.

The French were twice repulſed by Stanhope, and that with ſo much loſs, that no Frenchman would come again to mount the walls: whereupon the duke de Vendoſme entreated the Iriſh, who were always ready for dangerous exploits, to attack the enemy, and by their valour to wipe off the diſgrace which had fallen on the French. The Iriſh gladly accepted the honour, and attacked the town: but they were ſoon repulſed by the Engliſh. They returned again to the attack, and were again repulſed. They could hardly be perſuaded to come on a third time; but they did come on a third time. On the ſight of this, general Stanhope, being reduced to the want of powder, reſolved to lay down his arms, and to yield himſelf and his men priſoners to the Iriſh. He himſelf treated in perſon from the walls, and made no other terms than for the preſervation of his own baggage and linen. The little he had was granted him. The Britiſh ſoldiers, to the number of ſeven thouſand, laying down their arms by Stanhope's command, were ſtripped, and ſent like ſlaves into ſeveral parts of Spain.

Stanhope ſurpriſed at Brihuega.

The officers and ſoldiers reflected ſeverely on general Stanhope for having expoſed a multitude of ſoldiers, half armed and defenceleſs, imprudently, and without any military conduct, to fall into the hands of the enemy, and not making a retreat the moment their whole army came in ſight; which was a juſt reproach upon Stanhope's character. Count Staremberg, either ſuſpecting what happened, or being informed of it by ſome who eſcaped, marched that way; and receiving intelligence on the road that Stanhope had ſurrendered, he fell upon the duke de Vendoſme's army at Villa Vicioſa. The battle was long and bloody: at length the enemy gave way, and Staremberg's horſe made a great ſlaughter of thoſe who fled. Some of the French made off

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off to places of ſafety; others got together again to haraſs the rear of the confederates.

COUNT STAREMBERG, after he had continued ſome time on the field of battle, without farther delay, placed garriſons in the proper paſſes, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, and haſtened into winter-quarters. King Charles returned to Barcelona, and king Philip to Madrid. The duke de Vendoſme having recovered Sarragoſſa, was received on his return with great honours.

As ſoon as count Staremberg had diſpoſed of his forces into winter-quarters, he gave the king an account of his good ſucceſs at Villa Vicioſa: as to the reſt, ſays he, and what paſſed at Brihuega, I leave it to that Engliſh philoſopher, in whom alone you have confided, and the effect of whoſe counſels we all now feel, to make his own report.

GENERAL STANHOPE'S conduct was condemned by the judgment of all men in England, but eſpecially at court: and it was ſaid, that by his ſurrender of the army he had caſt a great reproach upon the queen, and a diſhonour upon the Engliſh name: the queen's miniſters therefore had ſo little regard for him, that they let him continue a priſoner in the hands of the enemy, as unworthy of the name of a Briton. After the peace was made, when Stanhope, at his return, ſaid, he wondered the earl of Oxford had now remembered him at laſt, Oxford made him this quick and ſmart anſwer, "That he might aſſure himſelf he ſhould never forget either him or Brihuega."

THIS winter king Philip, in January 1711, took Gironne, and thereby very much ſtraitened king Charles's quarters in Catalonia.

THE duke of Savoy obſerving the change of meaſures in England, turned his thoughts how to reconcile himſelf to the French king: and this he brought about by the dutcheſs of Burgundy, who, during all this war, was tenderly beloved by her parents. The duke of Savoy had before diſcovered the queen of England's intentions by his ſpies and

and ambaſſadors: he had alſo learned from Mr. Chetwynd what were her ſecret counſels; for Chetwynd was ſome way of kin to the earl of Rocheſter, and united to him both by party zeal and friendſhip.

THE duke of Savoy, therefore, both to levy money of the Savoyards, and at the ſame time to make a ſhew of his ſteady fidelity to the emperor, led the Italian army in the ſummer acroſs the Alps: but he made a long ſtay in thoſe mountains to collect his old arrears of taxes, and other confiſcations, without regard to the common cauſe: and towards the end of the ſummer, having raiſed two years levies of the Savoyards, he returned very rich into Italy. The next winter, he treated with the duke of Burgundy by letters; who declared openly in the court, that he ought to be condemned of the higheſt injuſtice, if he had not a greater regard for the ſafety of his own poſterity and the glory of France, than for his brother's affairs and the intereſt of Spain. Many other Frenchmen were of the duke of Burgundy's opinion, and celebrated the praiſes of that young prince throughout the world; which was not very acceptable to the French king, who was always envious of the glory of others.

THOUGH the duke of Savoy was a great maſter in the arts of peace and war, yet all his art and intereſt were inſufficient to bring the Italian princes into his meaſures.

WHEN the elector of Hanover ſaw that the confederates wanted the power, and the French the inclination to attempt any action on the Upper Rhine, he deſired the emperor's conſent to reſign the command of the army on that river, excuſing himſelf on account of his want of health, and the ſtate of his own affairs. The emperor conſented to his reſignation, and acknowledged him for a ninth elector.

AND now this prince applied his mind to procure, in a friendly way, an enlargement of his territories. He entered into a treaty with the king of Denmark, being highly offended with the king of Sweden's tarrying ſo long in the Turkiſh dominions: and as he foreſaw that the king of Sweden, on his return, would be apt to raiſe new troubles in Germany, being

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being himſelf now weary of war, he began to cultivate the arts of peace; and in order to enlarge his own territories, contracted with the king of Denmark for the purchaſe of ſome provinces adjoining to his own dominions, which the Dane had taken in the courſe of the war from Sweden. The terms were agreed on, and the elector of Hanover paid the king of Denmark the money ſtipulated for the purchaſe. Thus the ancient league between Sweden and Hanover inſenſibly wore away and diſſolved through the baſe counſels of certain courtiers: for on the league made between the proteſtant princes of Germany and the king of Sweden, depended in a great meaſure their common ſafety and the ſecurity of the reformed religion, than which the elector of Hanover had never any thing at any period of his life more at heart.

It was to the king of Sweden that he was chiefly indebted for the reputation and dignity of his family: for when the treaty of Munſter is once made void, the proteſtants in Germany will have nothing left, the princes nothing ſacred, nor any thing they can call their own but what they can maintain by force of arms: but the ambition of extending his dominions had hurried on the elector ſo far, that he could hardly retreat with honour.

The imperial court having ſown theſe tares of diſſention among the proteſtants, were very induſtrious to cultivate and propagate them: and the elector of Hanover himſelf was looked upon by the proteſtants in Germany as the emperor's penſioner; and even his religion was ſo far queſtioned, that in England he had the character of a man of no religion at all.

But to paſs over theſe things; after the death of Mr. Creſſet, the earl of Rivers was diſpatched ambaſſador from the queen of England to Hanover. On his arrival there, the earl was honourably received; and the elector of Hanover made ſuch anſwers as he thought fit to the queen's propoſals, both as to peace and war: but as to an offer of the command of the army in Flanders to the elector, there was either nothing ſaid of it, or nothing at leaſt that has yet tranſpired. It is commonly

monly believed that the earl of Rivers earneſtly ſolicited the elector, in the queen's name, to come into her meaſures.

THE earl of Rivers returning from Hanover into England, gave an account of his embaſſy: and he was ſoon diſpatched thither again, as if ſome very grand affair had been in negociation between the queen and the elector: but all this was done for no other end, than to raiſe jealouſies among the confederates.

THE king of Pruſſia, who was more illuſtrious on account of the accompliſhments of his mind, than the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and who was the laſt that was advanced to the regal diadem, ſeemed ambitious to excel the more ancient kings in magnificence and the ſplendor of his court. In order to ſuſtain the character which he had aſſumed of the principal aſſertor of the proteſtant religion in Germany, he became a great encourager of the liberal arts and ſciences; and beſtowed many favours upon learned profeſſors, and ingenious artiſts and merchants, to all of whom he granted immunities for a long term of years: and for their more effectual encouragement and protection, he entertained ſome foreigners alſo in his own ſervice at court: one of theſe was the count de Wartemberg, a very polite and accompliſhed man, who for a long time held the firſt place in the king's favour.

BUT now in this year, when both the queen of England and the French king thought fit to change their miniſters, the king of Pruſſia was pleaſed alſo, after their example, to do the like; and his anger broke out ſuddenly, like a hurricane, and diſcharged itſelf upon count Wartemberg. That nobleman was in one night deprived of his goods, as well as of the king's favour, baniſhed the court, and commanded to depart out of the kingdom in twenty-four hours, without any cauſe aſſigned for ſo ſudden and unexpected a command. What was the true cauſe, nobody could certainly tell: ſome imputed it to the czar of Muſcovy; and others to the intrigues of neighbouring princes: but others imputed it to his wife; alleging, that the king, now grown weary of her, baniſhed her the court, in ſpite to the lord Raby, the

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Engliſh ambaſſador: for it was believed that Raby had held a long familiarity with that lady; not ſo much for love of her perſon, as to gratify his own covetous diſpoſition, becauſe it was through her means, as was reported, that the king made him many rich preſents.

THE emperor impoſed upon the princes of Italy what tribute he thought fit, not ſparing the pope himſelf. The duke of Parma, hoping to be eaſed of part of the burthen which was laid upon him, ſent a certain jeſuit to the emperor's treaſurer, who, in very ſubmiſſive terms, repreſented to him the low circumſtances of that prince, and the poverty of the cities under his dominion. The treaſurer anſwered, "That he could not enter into a diſputation with him: "but," ſaid he, "by the living God, you may expect to ſee the "country laid waſte, unleſs the money be punctually paid at the "time appointed; for the ſtronger will always rule over the weaker, "juſt as the fiſhes do, and as ye fathers alſo domineer over your "children."

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK XIV.

The People eager for Peace.——Changes in the Adminiſtration.——New Parliament met.——Mr. Harley ſtabbed by Guiſcard.——Earl of Rocheſter's Death.——Death of the Emperor Joſeph.——Mr. Prior ſent into France.——Mr. Harley Earl of Oxford and Lord Treaſurer.——Offers of Peace made by the French King.——Farther Demands made by England.——Secret Articles.——Promotions at Court.——Siege of Cardona.——The Duke of Marlborough's laſt Campaign.——Bouchain beſieged,——and taken.——Charles VI. *crowned Emperor.——Treaty of Utrecht.——Occaſional Conformity Bill paſſed.——Twelve new Peers created at once.——Duke of Ormond Commander in Chief.——Death of the Dauphin of France.——Intrigues of the Jeſuits.——Diſputes between them and the Republic of Venice.——Progreſs of the Negotiations for Peace.——And the Temper at this Juncture of the People of England.*

IN thoſe unfortunate times, the affairs of England wore a new and unuſual aſpect. In that canvaſſing for votes, which preceded the general election of members of the Britiſh houſe of commons, that military ardour and high ſpirit of liberty which had not many years before ſhone forth among all ranks and orders of men, and which are indeed natural to the Britiſh nation, were now, after the late negotiations on the continent, exchanged for a rooted averſion to war, a blind

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and anxious deſire of peace, and a furious zeal among ſome of the country clergy, not only againſt the principles of the whigs, but even againſt the rights of the people, acts of the legiſlature, and the authority of government. But the prejudiced and unwary multitude, in their preſent temper, would not ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded either that the French king was averſe to peace on fair terms, or that his great aim, in the repeated conferences that had been held, was only to delude and to diſunite the confederates. And, laſtly, the hope of being eaſed by peace of the great burthen of taxes, above all other conſiderations, made the people eager to have a peace concluded. But neither the common people in England, nor the clergy, who are not apt to be guided by moderate counſels, were able to conceive the great difficulty of this buſineſs. Religious zeal was therefore of great ſervice to many of the candidates for ſeats in parliament: and on this occaſion it was obvious how much the authority and votes of the clergy in elections, eſpecially when parliaments were triennial, influenced and determined the wills of the people. Religion is indeed a moſt excellent thing; and what all men confeſs to be the moſt divine gift which God beſtows upon mankind. But ſtill, religion has its bounds; it neither extinguiſhes the love of our country, nor teaches the conquerors to become ſlaves to the conquered: and there is a degree of commendation due to the exerciſe of humanity and juſtice; it is honourable to repel dangers, to ſubdue enemies, and to improve kingdoms.

The people eager for peace.

The Engliſh youth being very ſprightly, are no leſs delighted with plays and ſhews at home, than addicted to wars abroad: ſome therefore, as an antidote to the power and influence of the clergy in elections, and in order to divert the thoughts of the people from the burthen of the war, encouraged plays, operas, pantomimes, and ſuch like entertainments: but the people, who were ſo highly delighted with theſe things, grew tired of them now; and no longer affecting popular amuſements, turned their thoughts to more ſerious matters, and longed for a peace. The names of religion and peace, accompanied alſo with ſome perſuaſive preſents, were of more ſervice, therefore, to the candidates in elections, than any thing elſe whatſoever.

At this time the tory party was much ſuperior in the country; who, in their common diſcourſe with the people, were wont to ſay that it was a glorious conqueſt to govern ourſelves, and to ſhew our moderation to all nations, eſpecially to thoſe whom we have conquered in war: and Sacheverell ſerved the mob now for a puppet-ſhew.

WHAT we have ſaid already is ſufficient to ſhew which party was likely to be the moſt numerous in the houſe of commons. It is certain that the duke of Marlborough's friends had unlucky preſages of this parliament, and ſaid that diſintereſted and good men had nothing now to expect but repulſes in every thing.

IN thoſe troubleſome times, Mr. Henry Boyle, Mr. John Smith, and the lord Coningſby, who were leading men of the modern whig party, declined all ſolicitation for ſeats in this parliament, for which they were greatly ſlighted, and looked upon as guilty of great negligence. They excuſed themſelves at large to their friends, foreſeeing, that all their endeavours at that time would have been to no purpoſe; and judging that no man was obliged, in all changes and ſeaſons, entirely to neglect himſelf for the public ſervice: they therefore reſolved to retire for the preſent, and to reſerve themſelves for better times.

MANY were now turned out, and their places conferred upon others. Mr. Smith reſigned his office of chancellor of the exchequer, and was made one of the tellers, being in favour with the queen. Mr. Boyle was, not unwillingly, removed from being ſecretary of ſtate. In his office ſucceeded Mr. Henry St. John, the moſt eloquent ſpeaker in the whole houſe of commons, and a man of parts and ambition greatly beyond his years. His father was always afraid of the forwardneſs of his youth: but the duke of Marlborough, who by his ſmooth addreſs had an excellent talent at diſcovering any man's capacity, had a few years ago conceived a great eſteem for him, and looked upon him as one who would in time become a very eminent ſtateſman. I wiſh this young gentleman had had the conduct to endear himſelf to his father, and the parliament, and all good men: whereas, without any regard to theſe, neglecting true glory, improvement in virtue, and all the rules for

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for good conduct of life, he conſumed the whole ſtrength of his parts, which were extraordinarily great, in pleaſures and popular vanities: and forſaking the right road to the higheſt honours, which was pointed out to him in his youth, he thought fit to prefer vain and fleeting pleaſures to true and laſting glory: but, as he was very forward both to ſpeak and act, Mr. Harley took great pains to keep him within bounds.

When the lord high chancellor Cowper reſigned the great ſeal, it was immediately put into the hands of Sir Simon Harcourt, without any oppoſition. Harcourt was the moſt eloquent lawyer of the whole profeſſion, by which he had made great profit: and having now got the place he had long wiſhed for, he adorned his high ſtation with great ſplendor, and trod the paths of juſtice with incredible conſtancy and diligence; nor did he in council diſſemble his being well affected to the Pretender. He was ſoon promoted to the peerage; and did not diſappoint his friends, who expected he would amaſs a large fortune.

On the diſmiſſion of the earl of Godolphin, Mr. Harley was made the firſt of the ſeven lords commiſſioners of the treaſury. He was known to every body, but hardly well known or underſtood by any: he returned every body's compliments with great civility, ſpake kindly to all, and refuſed nothing to any man. To foreign miniſters and the ambaſſadors of the allies, he declared, that he engaged in the adminiſtration to ſtrengthen the confederacy, not to break it: but to our own countrymen he ſaid, he had undertaken that employment to defend our liberty, to ſupport the church in her diſtreſs, and to maintain in thoſe difficult times the rights of the people, and the dignity of the queen; proteſting and promiſing that he would always be the ſame he then was, and ſuch as we ought to deſire and wiſh him to be. But as he had made the very ſame profeſſions to every man of all parties, they were no more to be regarded than if he had ſaid nothing: and indeed Mr. Harley was the ſame now as he had formerly been, always ambiguous, but a bitter enemy to the military power in parliament.

When

New parliament met.

WHEN the new parliament met at Weſtminſter, Mr. Bromley was unanimouſly choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons of Great Britain, for the next three years. Committees were appointed, according to cuſtom, for the diſpatch of ſundry affairs. And an extraordinary committee was inſtituted for ſtating and examining the public accounts; and making the moſt diligent inquiries into embezzlements of the public money, under the honourable pretext of the ſervice of the war, concerning the contracts for bread, the ſoldiers pay, ammunition and proviſions, and every thing elſe, for which money had been iſſued out of the public treaſury, from the beginning of the war to that time; and who were alſo to procure accounts of receipts and payments, with the names of thoſe who were intruſted with the management of the public money in foreign parts, to be laid before the houſe.

THIS order of the houſe of commons was highly applauded every where, as the means of diſcovering the frauds of many people, and of recovering vaſt ſums of money for the ſervice of the public. But care ought to have been taken leſt this diſcovery of frauds ſhould itſelf become a fraud upon the public; and leſt through private enmity and envy, affairs might be ſo carried on in the houſe, as to be of worſe conſequence to the public than the war itſelf.

SIR HENRY BELLASIS, who had formerly been manifeſtly detected, and cenſured for the plunder of Port St. Mary's in Spain, was now made the firſt commiſſioner in this inquiry. For he was thought to be a fit perſon in the committee to proſecute plunderers, who was not himſelf free from the imputation of avarice, and who, as his friends ſaid, would not find that to be a fault in others, in which he himſelf had been detected, and which he did not ſeem to look upon as any crime; and his intimates were wont, in their common diſcourſes and entertainments, to boaſt, that it was the beſt way to ſet a thief to catch a thief; and that no man knew how to find out all the artifices and frauds of plunderers, ſo well as one who had been a plunderer himſelf. Theſe, and ſuch like tranſactions paſſed with the entire approbation of the multitude; and thoſe were the moſt applauded by their party, who ſpake the bittereſt things

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againſt their adverſaries; ſo that many ſevere reflections were caſt upon thoſe who had the management of the war, eſpecially upon men of principle and probity, who truſted for their defence to their own innocence. Whereas unprincipled men could eaſily change their party; and, as it frequently happens in calamitous caſes, thoſe who were guilty of the ſame crime, became both the informers and proſecutors of others; that in the multitude of offenders, their own particular frauds might paſs unobſerved.

A COMMITTEE was alſo appointed for trying controverted elections, and another for returning thanks to her majeſty on the proſpect of a peace. The firſt of theſe has power to examine all the elections to the houſe of commons, and to determine of the rights both of the electors and elected, according to the laws gainſt bribery in elections, and the uſage of parliament. The laws againſt bribery are equally approved by all men, though every one is ſome way or other guilty of the breach of them, and though ſome happen to be turned out of the houſe on that account, many people look upon it only as a proof that their party in the houſe is weak and inferior to the other. As the ſuffrages and elections ought to be duly made, according to the rights and privileges of the ſeveral cities and burghs; ſo they ought alſo to be determined according to their reſpective rights: for the ſeveral cities and burghs have their ſeveral and reſpective rights and privileges, different from each other; and yet they are all ſeverally to be obſerved, unleſs they be contrary to the laws of the land. But, through the prevalence of party-zeal, conteſted elections are tried in the houſe of commons in quite a different manner. And he, whoſe election is controverted, is now, for the moſt part, voted into the houſe, at the arbitrary will and pleaſure of the members; not for his having a better right according to the cuſtom and privileges of his corporation, but becauſe he has a ſtronger party in the houſe of commons: and when they have once allowed of it, nobody dares to call it in queſtion; ſo that the rights and ancient privileges of the corporations are ſwallowed up in the law and cuſtom of the houſe of commons for theſe three years. Neither is the determination of the election, in ſuch caſes, left to the people, nor every elector allowed his free liberty and right of voting.

voting. Thus, in thoſe dangerous times, many of the whigs were voted out of the houſe, and all things turned upſide down. And yet he oppreſſed could not fairly complain of injuſtice, for they would have gladly revenged themſelves by the very ſame means by which they were injured: and no man can reaſonably find fault with another for the ſame thing which he does himſelf. Some were cenſured for crimes, others out of enmity; and the artful propoſals for a peace abated the zeal of many, even in the parliament itſelf, for the recovery of their liberty. And now a bill was brought into the houſe of commons of Great Britain, to diſable any man from repreſenting a county in that houſe, who had not an eſtate in land of the yearly value of at leaſt ſix hundred pounds; and diſqualifying any man for repreſenting a city or borough, unleſs he had an eſtate of the yearly value of three hundred.

When the houſe of commons, according to the annual cuſtom, began to take into conſideration the ſtate of the war, many were more preſſing to enquire into the management of the war for the time paſt, than to conſider of the means for carrying it on the preſent year 1710, and how to bring it to a happy concluſion. But, firſt of all, at the inſtance of the earl of Peterborough, the houſe of peers entered upon the earl of Galway's cauſe, and the inquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain. This took up a long time, though the lords had, two years before, heard Peterborough himſelf ſpeaking of his own conduct in Spain, for two hours together.

After he had caſt many reflections on the earl of Galway, the lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, he exhibited a charge againſt the earl of Galway, and required him to give his anſwer to five queſtions, upon which he himſelf had been already interrogated. A day was therefore appointed for hearing the cauſe. But when the earl of Galway's defence was, in many particulars, inconſiſtent with the earl of Peterborough's relation, his lordſhip contradicted all the earl of Galway's pleas, and being vehemently enraged againſt him, treated him in a long ſpeech with very harſh language.

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THE lord Tyrawley being called as a voucher in this cauſe, made only this anſwer to all the earl of Peterborough's eloquence, "That what "the earl of Peterborough had now ſaid, he had never heard before: "but, for his own part, as he had been bred in the camp, he ſaid, "his talent was rather for action than ſpeaking."

THE earl of Galway, finding himſelf accuſed of many things, humbly entreated their lordſhips' leave to anſwer the earl of Peterborough's reflections: but this was refuſed him, and his petition was rejected on the 2d day of January 1711. And, after many hot debates, a ſevere cenſure was paſſed by the houſe of lords upon the earl of Galway, who was by birth a foreigner. But this was oppoſed and proteſted againſt by thirty-four peers, as being contrary to all ancient precedents, as well as natural juſtice: becauſe the earl of Galway had not leave given him to ſpeak for himſelf, nor was his petition admitted, nor any liberty allowed for freedom of contradiction. But neither his age, nor the loſs of his limbs, nor his quality, nor his actions in Spain, nor his wounds, nor the entreaties of his friends, could now touch their lordſhips' hearts in thoſe times of party-zeal and imbittered contention.

THE houſe of lords, with great juſtice, agreed to give teſtimony of the earl of Peterborough's many great and eminent ſervices: and the lord-keeper Harcourt, in the name of the peers, returned him thanks in a copious and florid ſpeech. "Had more days, ſaid he, been al- "lowed me, than I have had minutes, to call to mind the wonder- "ful and amazing ſucceſs, which perpetually attended your lordſhip "in Spain, the effect of your lordſhip's perſonal bravery and conduct, "I would not attempt to enumerate your particular ſervices, ſince I "ſhould at once offend your lordſhip, by the mention of ſuch as I "could recollect, and give a juſt occaſion of offence to this honour- "able houſe by the involuntary omiſſion of the far greater part of "them."

SOME days were ſpent in paſſing ſevere cenſures upon ſeveral great men, who were more cruelly treated at home, than if they had been

called in queſtion in the parliament of Paris, or the Spaniſh inquiſition. For they were neither allowed an opportunity to implore the favour of the houſe, or to ſpeak in their own defence; nor were their relations and friends permitted to offer what they had to urge in their behalf: ſo that it was now of ſome ſervice to general Stanhope, that he was ſtill a priſoner in Spain.

THE duke of Marlborough was yet continued in the command of the army in Flanders, though many oppoſed it: and he had entertained ſome vain hopes of recovering the queen's favour. But this was prevented by Mr. Harley, though he was, in other reſpects, no way his enemy.

GREAT differences aroſe between the earl of Rocheſter and Mr. Harley, about the adminiſtration of the public affairs: ſo that each of them courted the whigs to come into his meaſures. But the duke of Marlborough perſuaded them to continue fixed in their principles, and inſinuated that he ſhould be reſtored again to her majeſty's favour: and they, on the other hand, entreated him to reconcile his lady to the queen, or elſe to come to terms of agreement with Mr. Harley, that the public intereſt might not ſuffer any injury: and indeed his friends boaſted, that while he was ſafe, the public muſt be ſafe of courſe.

THE lord Sommers, the preſerver of his country, and the moſt experienced whigs, well knew there was no confidence to be placed in thoſe who had more regard for their own private fortunes than for the public ſafety; and that the obſtinacy of the dutcheſs of Marlborough had been the cauſe of all their ruin. The whigs, therefore, thought it not proper to enter into any cloſe friendſhip with them, except when they were ſufficiently aſſured of the ſentiments of the duke of Marlborough's party, and thoſe ſupported alſo by certain facts.

IN thoſe ſuſpicious times, the fidelity and integrity of the earl of Sunderland was of great ſervice to the duke of Marlborough. And, to ſpeak truth, though Marlborough had been very friendly on his part, and, in return, in high favour with all his adherents; yet the virtue

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and affectionate zeal of the earl of Sunderland did more honour to the common cauſe of the whigs, and falling fortunes of the duke, than all the reſt of his party, although in their proſperity he had often oppoſed them.

When the parliament entered upon the examination of the earl of Godolphin's cauſe, his former flatterers, for the moſt part, ſhamefully deſerted him. He was now charged with corruption, who had been lately honoured with the higheſt praiſes. His creatures thought it would be very hard that they ſhould now be ſtripped of their fortunes: they owned themſelves indebted to his favour, and promiſed to be ever grateful. But they ſaid, "A debt of favour was not like a debt of money; for they who "have but the will to return favours, make ſufficient payment: they "were indeed heartily ſorry for the trouble now befallen him in thoſe "ſad times; and that all their endeavours to ſerve and ſupport him "would be in vain." Therefore, leſt their fortunes which he had raiſed ſhould ſink with him, they forſook his party, and, after many formal excuſes, complied with the humour of the times.

The earl of Godolphin, who was innocent of corruption, and not conſcious of any the leaſt diſgraceful ſteps, refuted the reflections of his adverſaries with great eloquence, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome remaining friends defended himſelf with a noble confidence in the houſe of lords, againſt all the attacks of his enemies. It was urged by theſe, that becauſe he had been treaſurer, he ought to be accuſed as the author of the national debt, and of miſapplying the public money. If you think this a fair concluſion, it was anſwered, "Which of you "will ever be treaſurer? or undertake the management of the public "money? If he has miſapplied any of the public treaſure without war-"rant, and contrarily to the orders of parliament, it is what we never "heard of before, and it lies upon you to prove it." The earl of Godolphin earneſtly entreated the parliament to lay aſide all ſuch ſuſpicions, to free the innocent from their troubles, and to guard againſt thoſe dangers which were impending over all good men. Though his innocence and frugality had been long ago approved to the people by ſolemn declarations of parliament, yet he declared himſelf now

ready

ready to confirm the ſame by the public accounts of receipts and payments, and even by the original receipts of thoſe to whom the payments were made. And though theſe ſeveral accounts have not yet been paſſed by the auditors and tellers of the exchequer, and other officers, the blame ought to be laid upon them, and the forms and methods of the exchequer, and not upon him. "But," ſaid he, "if any "the leaſt crime, or ſuſpicion of guilt, can be made to appear, which "my adverſaries can fairly charge to my account: in fine, I ſay, if "there can be any other cauſe than that of mere enmity, found out "for branding me with the imputation of corruption, I am content "to ſubmit, not my ſmall fortune only, but even my life itſelf "alſo, to the will of my adverſaries." In the mean time, the earl of Godolphin's friends, who were now but few in the houſe of commons, defended his cauſe very ſtrenuouſly, and ſaid, that the clamours now raiſed againſt him, were not intended for any other purpoſe than that his adverſaries, whom envy and poverty had incited to calumniate all good men, and thoſe whoſe ſervices had beſt deſerved of the public, might caſt a blemiſh upon his honour.

Mr. St. John, who affected popularity, and was full of indignation at what had been advanced by the friends of Godolphin, replied, "Some, perhaps, may wonder, that any man ſhould be found ſo "reſolute and magnanimous, as to expoſe himſelf and his own ſafety "to dangers at this time, in ſupport of the declining ſtate of our "government and religion: but it is a much greater object of wonder, that any man within this houſe ſhould be ſo bold as to oppoſe "an inquiry into the public money; when, if this ſhould be neglected, "our kingdom and government cannot ſtand. I believe no news "was ever more acceptable to the people of England, than that the "public accounts were to be ſettled. Who can be a friend to theſe "men, but ſuch as are either enemies to their country, or would "themſelves plunder the treaſury? Though in proſecuting thoſe who "have had the management of affairs during the war, I may be moved "with no leſs contempt than hatred; yet I would rather have them diſmiſſed with condign puniſhment than with contempt. But among all

"their

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" their odious arts and diſpoſitions, there is not one that to me ap-
" pears ſo intolerable, as that they do not now endeavour to ruin
" us and the church, by means of their thieves and uſurers only,
" nor yet by the agency of wretches abandoned from an innate im-
" probity, deſperate through want, or adorned by rapacity and
" the fortune of war, with the ſpoils of all nations; but through
" the inſtrumentality of men diſtinguiſhed for humanity and mercy:
" and thoſe whom they have not yet been able to ruin by their
" taxes, their rapine, their violence, their power, their injuſtice, and
" a mighty armed force; even all of you, my fellow-citizens, they
" now meditate to overthrow by your own authority, your own re-
" ligion, and your own votes."

Mr. Robert Walpole, without taking notice of the injuries, or of religion, which Mr. St. John had every where diſgraced by his luſts, ſpake only to the money-matters and the accounts, which formed the preſent ſubject of debate in the houſe: and, in anſwer to what had been alleged, he explained the accounts of the public money, in a calm, elegant, and diſtinct manner, atteſting them at the ſame time by original receipts, and other authentic vouchers and witneſſes. And after he had proved, that this inquiry was founded in malice and the animoſities of the times, he ſaid, " If he is accuſed, who cannot be
" charged with any crime, or any juſt ſuſpicion of a crime, and
" whom the gentleman who ſpake laſt, could neither fear nor hate;
" take heed leſt the conſtitution receive a wound through his ſides.
" It is obvious to all, how much the multitude is under the influence
" of bribery; and that the people of England, who are accounted
" gentle even to their enemies, are at this moment animated againſt
" one another with a ſpirit of hatred and rancour. It behoves you,
" in the firſt place, to find a remedy for thoſe diſtempers, which are
" predominant in the civil conſtitution at the preſent moment. And
" unleſs ye reject this preſent inquiry with a juſt indignation, I leave
" you to conjecture the ſituation to which this kingdom and govern-
" ment are likely to be reduced." After Mr. Walpole, Mr. Lowndes ſpoke to the following effect: " It is reaſonable that an account
" ſhould be given of the public money, and we have given it. The
" money

" money appropriated to the ſervice of the war, has been faithfully " iſſued out of the treaſury for that purpoſe. And, if there was none " iſſued for the navy when there was none for it, where is the in- " juſtice? What law have we tranſgreſſed? We have honeſtly laid " out as much money as was levied upon the people. But there is a " large debt. What then? Is that to be imputed to us as our fault, " when we were not allowed money ſufficient to diſcharge it? or not " rather to yourſelves, who did not raiſe money enough for that pur- " poſe? Any man who is at all acquainted with public affairs, muſt " know, that we never either would or could convert any of the public " money to our own private uſes, eſpecially that which we never " either touched or ſaw. We have neither received or paid the " ſmalleſt ſums but what was due."

ANOTHER gentleman, in anſwer to what had been alleged on both ſides, on this ſubject, ſaid, " It is very uſeful, in all ſocieties, to en- " courage informers, that avarice, and the audacious attempts of bad " men againſt the ſtate, may be kept in awe, and reſtrained. Yet, at " the ſame time, care ought to be taken, leſt innocence and integrity " be either oppreſſed or calumniated. In England, we breed up lions; " the Romans appointed food for geeſe in the capitol; and there alſo " they maintained dogs at the public expence, to give notice of the " approach of thieves. For though theſe centinels, being merely " brute beaſts, could not diſtinguiſh thieves from other men, yet it " was fit that every thing ſhould be announced that might ſeem even " equivocal or ſuſpicious, and better to exceed on that ſide which was " the ſafeſt, than that the capitol and the city itſelf ſhould be left " expoſed to the ſudden attempts of treaſon. Some of us may be " compared to thoſe geeſe, others to the dogs. The geeſe could " only by their cackling make a noiſe, but could not hurt; whereas " dogs could both bark and bite. Thoſe dogs therefore, at Rome, " were ham-ſtringed, leſt they ſhould bite the innocent where there " was no juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. We, like the Romans, give food " to our informers; but we ſhould likewiſe ham-ſtring the dogs, leſt, " in time, they ſhould fall upon good ſubjects, and tear them in " pieces. I can eaſily believe, that the miniſtry have many faults.

" But

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"But whoever accuſes another of a public miſdemeanor, or crime, "ought to ſet forth every circumſtance of the caſe: and the accuſers "of the miniſtry ought therefore to explain and diſplay their offences "and crimes with all due circumſtantiality; that the lords and com- "mons, and all the people of England, may judge according to evi- "dence, laying aſide all partiality of friendſhip or country, but re- "membering, at the ſame time, that the accuſed are our fellow-ſubjects "and fellow-men."

In caſting up the accounts of the public money, it appeared that of the twenty thouſand pounds appointed for the ſervice of Scotland in the year 1707, the duke of Queenſberry had returned twelve thouſand into the exchequer; and this was now enquired for. The earl of Godolphin began to make excuſes, pretending that it had eſcaped his memory, and pleading, among other things, the infirmities of old age: but, he ſaid, that he would endeavour alſo to give the houſe ſatisfaction as to that matter. Upon this many of the members inveighed againſt the earl with the utmoſt bitterneſs; and the old man made a ſhew of having fallen into a fit of the epilepſy, and of being quite dejected: at laſt, when he had ſufficiently tried and diſcovered the temper of the houſe, and how they ſtood affected towards him, behold her majeſty's warrant and ſign manual, which he produced for the twelve thouſand pounds in queſtion. On the ſight of this, his adverſaries perceiving that they had been treated with mockery, were confounded and put to ſilence.

Throughout the whole of this enquiry, Mr. Harley ſeemed to be more favourable to the earl of Godolphin, than the earl of Rocheſter was, at leaſt he did not bear ſo hard upon him. He ſaid alſo, that he had found out a remedy for thoſe public diſtempers; and declared that he would not ſo much as lend his penknife to thoſe who wiſhed to continue and encreaſe them.

The earl of Rocheſter's violent party brought many charges which they not only could not, but did not ſo much as attempt to ſupport: but Mr. Harley's party ſaid, "We make you every conceſſion, that ye "may

" may paſs over things, which by your concealing them, it is evident ye " cannot make good: as to your allegations of corruption, what reaſon " have we to ſuppoſe that they are well grounded? Invent, therefore, " ſomething that may appear plauſible at leaſt; leſt ye eſtabliſh a pre- " cedent of ill uſage for yourſelves, or ſeem to proceed as ye do, only " to make ſport to yourſelves of the fortune of a diſgraced treaſurer, " and the honour of all who had a ſhare in his adminiſtration."

Mr. Harley ſtabbed by Guiſcard.

In the mean time a moſt deſperate act, hitherto unheard of, and hardly to be credited in England, was committed by that ruffian the ſieur de Guiſcard. This man being accuſed of high treaſon, and brought by meſſengers to be examined at the council board, was there aſked ſeveral queſtions, but made no anſwer: at length ſnatching up a penknife, he ſuddenly ſtabbed Mr. Harley, and with the ſame inſtrument, ſtill reeking with Mr. Harley's blood, attempted alſo to ſtab other members of the committee of council; but was at laſt overpowered, every one defending himſelf with what came next to hand: every one ſtruck him as hard as he could with his naked fiſts, but Mr. St. John pierced him through with his ſword. On hearing the noiſe, the door-keepers and meſſengers in waiting haſtened into the room, laid hands upon the aſſaſſin, and dragged him, with his bones almoſt all broken, to priſon; where they kept him in very cloſe cuſtody, to prevent his laying violent hands upon himſelf: he entreated the duke of Ormond to come to him, and furiouſly tore open his wounds after they were almoſt healed, intending to deſtroy himſelf, but was prevented: yet, ſoon after, this fanatical zealot, who was a bigot to the Romiſh religion, either out of indignation at his fetters, or elſe through fear of ſome more grievous puniſhment, abſtained from all food for ſome days, and thus ſtarved himſelf to death. Mr. Harley, leaving the council chamber wet with his blood, was carried home half dead in a chair, followed by a multitude of people; among whom none diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much as the earl of Powlet, who walked along the ſtreets on foot, by the ſide of the chair, to keep off the crowd, which afterwards contributed to his promotion.

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As ſoon as Mr. Harley's wound was in a fair way of recovery, great numbers of the nobility went to viſit him: but none more frequently than the earl of Rocheſter, who for ſome time ſadly lamented what a grievous wound the kingdom had received by that which had been given to Mr. Harley: and, at the ſame time, he was very importunate with him to diſcover what the ſecret ſcheme was, by which he propoſed to pay the public debts of the nation; and that the rather now, leſt the kingdom ſhould ſuffer an irreparable loſs of it by this diſaſter. But Mr. Harley, being equally ſound in mind and tenacious of his ſecret, excuſed himſelf to him on account of his indiſpoſition, but promiſed to diſcover it as ſoon as his wound ſhould be healed: for Harley, according to his former reſolution, would have loſt his life, rather than diſcover his ſecret before he ſhould come again to the houſe of commons. The houſe therefore, on account of his abſence, adjourned for ſeveral days: at laſt Mr. Harley, though ſtill very weak, ventured to go to the houſe, and there laid before them his project for a trade to the South-ſeas.

The earl of Rocheſter's party treated this famous ſecret very lightly, and differing in opinion from Mr. Harley, oppoſed his ſcheme, and endeavoured all they could to defeat it: but it was approved by others, and Mr. Harley was highly applauded: on this, great heats aroſe in the parliament, ſo that all things ſeemed tending to confuſion.

Earl of Rocheſter's death.

The earl of Rocheſter, who had gone to dine with Mr. Ruſſel Roberts, found himſelf indiſpoſed, and after dinner being ſeized with an apoplexy, ſuddenly died. The death of Rocheſter, who was highly diſtinguiſhed by his relations, his virtues, and his reputation among his friends, was very much lamented.

In this ſeſſion of parliament the houſe of commons raiſed a ſupply of ſix million ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the war this year: beſides the land-tax, and the duties upon drink, leather, and other commodities, money was alſo raiſed by a public lottery.

When

When the debates in parliament grew hot, ſevere cenſures were paſſed, not only upon general Stanhope for his miſconduct in Spain, but upon the lord viſcount Townſhend, and others, who had but lately been looked upon as men of great merit in the government. But as all theſe things originated in private piques and party-differences, the prejudice thereby incurred was not deemed a parliamentary cenſure: and many did not doubt but this condemnation would in time redound to their honour; for thoſe who had paſſed theſe ſevere cenſures, poſſeſſed but little experience either in buſineſs, or laws and cuſtoms.

The law for naturalizing foreigners, which paſſed three years ago, was now repealed, and other new ones made, but with very little effect, for ſuppreſſing frauds.

In the convocation of the clergy many complaints were made, of monſtrous opinions, of the diminution of eccleſiaſtical power, and of the alienation of ſeveral church lands. And as they were now in hopes of reſtoring the church to its ancient rights, ſome things were alſo propoſed, which came very near to the popiſh ceremonies; and the houſe of commons had the mortification to ſee them ſwaggering and lording it over the goods of their fellow-ſubjects; though they durſt not deny them any thing, ſince they had put themſelves into their power.

About this time a popiſh opinion began to be entertained by many in England, concerning the unity of the church: and ſome men crept into the churches and colleges who were ſecretly well affected to popery, and yet took all manner of oaths, according to the words of thoſe oaths, how contrary ſoever to the principles of that religion. Theſe were looked upon as the Pretender's ſcouts, whom the French king and the popes made uſe of as their tool, and whom they never thought of for any other purpoſe than, under colour of aſſerting his antiquated title, to ſerve their own turn.

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THE Engliſh clergy now loudly aſſerted an hereditary right to the crown, and a perpetual and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of biſhops and holy orders in the church. Theſe they contended for ſo eagerly, that they would rather renounce all the doctrines of the church of England, than give up theſe points; though the Romaniſts themſelves, and many learned men, make a jeſt of the perpetual ſucceſſion of their orders, and acknowledge that it has ſuffered many interruptions.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in the church, arms and pay, not only by the queen's connivance, but by her expreſs command, were actually ſent to a barbarous race of men in the Highlands of Scotland, firmly united together in luſts, inteſtine ſlaughter, and all manner of wickedneſs: and the ſixteen peers of Scotland, who were now choſen to ſit in the parliament, were ſuch alſo as were of approved fidelity to the Pretender. For the viſcount of Kilſyth had twice given proof of his attachment to king James in war, or rebellion: the earl of Marr had devoted himſelf to the ſame king's ſervice from his very youth: nor was any one of them very averſe to the ſame cauſe, except the earls of Iſla and Loudon: ſo that the earl of Godolphin was now whipt with his own rods

BUT thoſe who were choſen from Scotland into the houſe of commons, were, for the moſt part, ſtrenuous aſſertors of the principles of the revolution: and this was ſurely owing, as many were now convinced, to Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. George Baillie, and Mr. A. C——, who had inſiſted that notwithſtanding the union, the ancient cuſtoms of Scotland in the elections of members of the houſe of commons, ſhould be ſtill obſerved; and had prevailed to have the eldeſt ſons of the Scots peers, who were now returned as members, according to the Engliſh cuſtom, removed from their ſeats there, by order of the parliament of Great Britain. If the management of this affair had been left to the earl of Godolphin, without doubt the ſons of the Scotch peers would now follow the ſteps of their fathers, and be now and evermore devoted more to the king than to the kingdom. But

as,

as, on the one hand, nothing is to be accounted ſo mean as vice; ſo, on the other, the greateſt ornaments of the church are the grace of piety, the ſplendor of virtue, and the dignity of patience under poverty, and all manner of hardſhips.

In this parliament they acted almoſt as if the age of offering hecatombs had been returned: fifty new churches were in one day ordered to be built and dedicated to divine ſervice, though there were not people enough to fill thoſe already built. I wiſh they had made a law, that the old ones ſhould not become uſeleſs, and that there ſhould not be a want of money enough for carrying on the war. However, the money raiſed by the duty upon coals was applied to the building of churches: for the rights of the people were now to be oppreſſed by a multitude of clergy.

The ſcheme concerted in the privy council for carrying on the war this year was, that eight thouſand men ſhould be ſent on board a fleet to the Weſt Indies, to make an attempt upon Newfoundland and Canada, under the command of brigadier-general Hill, brother to Mrs. Maſham. Theſe forces were drawn out of the armies in Spain and Flanders; and therefore loud complaints were made of this by the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle. Mr. Harley ſaid, he had oppoſed this expedition; and yet it was the firſt that was undertaken: there was a vaſt expence both of blood and treaſure, but nothing at all done.

The queen's piety was highly applauded: this ſeparation of the Engliſh forces was approved by the French king; and the clergy in their aſſemblies gave the higheſt praiſes to her majeſty, for her pious intention to convert the Indians: but there were others who ſpread a report, that this whole expedition was undertaken without any other deſign than that the friends of Mrs. Maſham might have an opportunity to convert the public money to their own uſe.

The duke of Marlborough, either out of a natural averſion to the feuds in parliament, or elſe in hopes of regaining her majeſty's favour, would

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would not now come to the houſe, to protect either himſelf or others from the impending dangers; but obſerving now that his party was overborn in the houſe of commons, embarked for Holland early in the ſpring, in order to concert meaſures relating both to peace and war. His friends, who had ſerved him in the houſe, complained heavily of his abſence; to whom general Webb made this anſwer: "Ye are much miſtaken if ye think the duke of Marlborough will "expoſe himſelf to any dangers in the parliament for your ſakes: for "he has no other aim than to continue himſelf in employment, "though it were even in a lower rank, under her majeſty, to ſerve "his own turn: he has no regard for any man of real worth and ho- "nour, but only for Cadogan, Meredyth, and Macartney; and what "theſe are, I leave yourſelves to judge; as well as how they alone "have been loaded with his favours: his own intereſt has always "been nearer to his heart than his duty: I have long ſerved under "him for glory; and I make no doubt but he himſelf would now "ſerve even under me, if it would but contribute to his own private "intereſt:" but it is proper to obſerve that between Webb and Marlborough there ſubſiſted perſonal quarrels and animoſities.

THE duke of Argyle was ordered into Spain in the month of April, to take upon him the command of the army there.

AFTER the earl of Peterborough had received the thanks of the houſe of peers by the lord keeper Harcourt, he was immediately diſpatched abroad with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, to prevent his interrupting the meaſures taken at home: he made ſuch ſpeed, that he every where arrived himſelf before the expreſſes could bring news of his approach. At length he arrived at Turin, to conſult with the duke of Savoy about his not proſecuting the war in Savoy, and to concert meaſures for ſupplying the Germans with forty thouſand Spaniſh crowns, of which each was to furniſh twenty thouſand, and then to treat together with him concerning the preſent ſcheme for a peace. After this, he immediately flew towards Vienna, to tranſact other affairs with the emperor; but, having received advice by the way, that the emperor Joſeph died on the 17th day of April, in deep

Death of the emperor Joſeph.

concern for this event, and the money which was to have been paid to him, he wrote to Mr. Harley, notifying the emperor's death, and his own tranſactions concerning the ſupply of money to the Germans, and that he was ready to return from his embaſſy; that he would mention the money to her majeſty, and take care of that matter, if his lordſhip ſtaid in Germany.

THE pope performed a ſolemn obſequy for the emperor in the church of the Vatican: he alſo wrote to the empreſs-mother on the ſubject of his death, to comfort her on that melancholy occaſion. He told her he was in good hopes that her ſon's ſoul would be ſoon releaſed out of purgatory, and placed among the bleſſed in heaven, provided ſhe would only reſtore to the church the town of Commacchio.

ELEANORA, the empreſs-mother, who had now the adminiſtration of affairs in the empire, or at leaſt in the Auſtrian territories, returned an anſwer to the pope, full of acknowledgments to him for the honour he had done to her ſon, whoſe ſoul ſhe now committed to the care of his holineſs; but declared withal, that it ſhould be her care, while ſhe had the adminiſtration, not to do or ſuffer an alienation of any thing that belonged to the empire; and that ſhe would not even redeem the ſoul of her ſon at ſuch a price.

THIS heroic lady would neither ſuffer herſelf to be impoſed upon by the artifices of the pope, nor the eſtate of her ſurviving ſon to be waſted for the ſake of him who was dead. It is reported alſo that ſhe wrote to the queen of England, to continue conſtant to her alliances: declaring, that ſhe would ſo effectually join her forces to proſecute the war, as either to procure an honourable peace, or elſe make the French king know at laſt what was in the power of women. She wrote to king Charles in Spain, to notify to him his brother's death: ſhe wrote alſo to prince Eugene, not to make any alteration in the ſchemes laid down for the war, nor to fail in the execution of them. She iſſued mandates to the electors, and particularly to the electors of Mentz and Palatine, requiring them to diſcharge the duties of their reſpective

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reſpective offices according to the conſtitution of the empire. Theſe princes, on notice of the emperor's death, obeyed the mandate, and appointed an aſſembly of the electors at Frankfort, for the election of a king of the Romans. Some of the electors came thither at the time appointed, and others ſent their ambaſſadors. The elector of Hanover, as arch-treaſurer of the holy Roman empire, ſent his ambaſſador thither, who was now the firſt time admitted, and ſolemnly received into the electoral college. The elector of Bavaria, being under the ban of the empire, was repulſed, and denied admittance, and his proteſt adjudged to be a nullity.

THE earl of Peterborough took the opportunity to repair thither at this time, that he might not ſeem to have nothing to do, and was betrayed by one of his ſervants, whom he detected in the very act of perfidy, and threatened inſtantly to hang him: after this he paſſed his time in vain pleaſures, and at laſt he ſet Dr. Davenant, who was loaded with debts, at liberty, and ſent him into England, intending himſelf to go to Italy.

Mr. Prior ſent into France.

IN the mean time Mr. Matthew Prior, who had formerly been ſecretary to the earl of Jerſey, ambaſſador from king William to the French king, was now ſent into France, to complete the deſigns of his old maſter, reſpecting a perpetual peace to be contracted with the French king, and the reſtoration of the ſon of king James to his kingdom: a matter that was well known to the earl of Albemarle, and as well to the marquis de Torcy; with whom the preliminaries of a peace were now agreed upon, on the 22d day of April; which, on the 27th, were by Mr. ſecretary St. John communicated to the lord Raby, her majeſty's ambaſſador in Holland. That the deſign now on foot was the ſame with that of Jerſey, appears both by the ſpirit of the times, and by Mr. Prior's going ſo ſecretly to France.

As king William was formerly aſtoniſhed at the imprudence and audaciouſneſs of his ambaſſador, ſo were all good men now alarmed to hear of Mr. Prior's ſuſpicious errand, which was ſtill kept a profound ſecret.

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THE counteſs of Jerſey, now a widow, a votareſs of the Romiſh religion, and a very ſubtle woman, is ſaid to have gained ſo much intereſt in Mrs. Maſham at this time, that ſhe did not doubt of being able now to perform the promiſe made to the French king, and effectually to execute the old ſcheme, of which ſhe had been the firſt projectreſs.

IN the month of April Mr. Prior began his journey. At Calais he was known by the earl of Shafteſbury, and others, who happened to be there. Shafteſbury reported what he had ſeen: but the French faction in England ſtubbornly denied it, and the miniſtry confirmed the denial; nevertheleſs, it was ſtill ſuſpected by many; though the act was ſo daring, that it was looked upon as monſtrous, and hardly credible.

FREQUENT letters and expreſſes came about this time into England from the duke of Savoy: for the duke having held a long correſpondence with his daughter, whoſe huſband was now dauphin, had diſcovered the French king's negotiation for a peace with the queen of England. I cannot eaſily believe that Mr. Chetwynd, the Engliſh envoy at the court of Turin, would deſignedly have fallen into this error: but the duke of Savoy had over-reached him with fair words and plauſible ſpeeches: ſome indeed impute his ſilence to the earl of Rocheſter, to whom he was under many obligations.

ALL Italy ſoon echoed the report, that a peace was ſecretly concluded with the queen of England: and the many expreſſes which paſſed in the winter between Turin and the courts of England and France, ſeemed to many to be a proof of it: nay, even at Rome, whatever the queen of England did, was well known, and a general ſubject of converſation.

WHEN all this was objected to the Engliſh miniſtry, and they were aſked the meaning of ſo frequent an intercourſe of letters, they had nothing to ſay, but only that they were yet blameleſs: and that the whole confederate war, which had been carried on in a manner at the

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ſole expence of their blood and treaſure alone, had never yet been liable to the imputation of any corrupt or diſgraceful practice, and they hoped it never would hereafter. Neither were the French wanting on their ſide either to let the Italians know, or to encourage them openly to divulge what was doing in England; hoping to draw them in to put themſelves under the French king's protection, and to alienate them from the emperor, who was but a weak man.

AFTER the earl of Rocheſter's death, the tory-faction, which was before divided, became now united; and having only Mr. Harley to depend upon, made large profeſſions to come entirely into his meaſures, and to ſupport him and his fortunes with their whole intereſt in parliament. The agreement was ſoon made, and many fine promiſes mutually interchanged between them. Mr. Harley, who was no ſtranger to the nature of popular favour, nor to the differences which were likely to ariſe among them on account of the ſucceſſion of the crown, embraced and paid compliments to them all, and exhorted every one to exert himſelf for his party againſt the duke of Marlborough, who ſeemed to have a deſign upon the crown.

BUT though he talked to them thus, yet it is reported that he ſaid to the queen from the beginning, that he would neither attempt any thing againſt the ſucceſſion, nor act in any other buſineſs otherwiſe than according to law. And he perſuaded the queen to follow the ſame maxims of conduct, and to do every thing that was fair and honourable; and in this reſpect the teſtimony of the earl of Godolphin was of great ſervice to him; who declared, that Mr. Harley was always averſe to the Pretender. But, ſuch was the iniquity of the times, that people now had entertained a different opinion of him: and the Pretender's friends boaſted that they knew his whole deſign. I ſhall not preſume to determine this point; ſince nothing is harder to diſcover than a man's intentions. It is certain, his preſent conduct ſeemed to regard the Pretender more than the laws of the land: as that of the earl of Sunderland, the father, formerly did, by whoſe example many people thought Mr. Harley's ſchemes were now formed.

AND

Mr. Harley earl of Oxford, and lord treasurer.

And now Mr. Harley, being created earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, was made lord high treasurer of Great Britain. His thoughts were full of the antiquity of his family, and his heart more set upon honours and riches; in which particular he differed from the duke of Marlborough. He was also more desirous to seem excellent than to be so; and in this he differed from the lord Sommers.

These eminent persons possessed all of them great talents and virtues, as well as experience in business, and great variety of knowledge. The lord Sommers had very few vices, and those rather such human infirmities as all men experience from the condition of their nature. The duke of Marlborough was justly celebrated as the terror of France, and the bulwark of Great Britain against foreign dangers: the lord Sommers, as the preserver of the kingdom, the father of his country, and the glory of the peerage: and the earl of Oxford, as the speaker of the house of commons, the ornament of his own family, and the security of the royal succession.

If the reader of this History be curious to know what services these noblemen did to the church, all I can say is, that their merits with respect to the church were much alike; only, that of the earl of Oxford may, perhaps, be looked upon as the greatest, on account of his having been the founder of two churches.

In this critical juncture, the lord Sommers, who delighted not so much in any thing as in acts of benevolence, was very solicitous to make up matters between the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Oxford, notwithstanding that he had formerly received ill offices from each of them: and the duke of Shrewsbury is said to have used his endeavours also for the same purpose, lest the public welfare might sustain some damage through their dissentions, or the fury of some of the clergy break out to the ruin of the constitution. But it is said, that no means whatever could prevail with the duke of Marlborough to agree to this compromise, unless he himself might sit at the helm, and the queen would commit the chief management of the war, and all other affairs, into his hands. But all men said, that, considering

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how much the queen was eſtranged from him, this was impoſſible. Such, therefore, was the tempeſt through which the ſhip of ſtate had now to ſteer.

THE duke of Argyle had the command of the army in Spain; and the earl of Portmore, who had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field, but had now ſet his heart upon getting money, was made commander of the army in Portugal. He ſoon fell into the ſame courſes himſelf, which he had found fault with in others. He is charged with very mean actions: and how unſteady and fickle he is in his whole conduct of life, the whole world are now witneſſes.

AT this time the war, which was at firſt neceſſary, and carried on with great reputation, ſeemed now, to many people in England, to dwindle into a mere contention for riches. And as many other men were deſirous of ſerving their turn by the war, ſo did the lord Raby ſtrive to ſerve his by a peace.

HE was ſent ambaſſador into Holland, where, at firſt, he met with a moſt noble reception. He made the Dutch many fine promiſes, but intermixed with imperious demands. At length he produced propoſals, which ſeemed to the allies very hard and obſcure. He altered his behaviour, grew haughty, and fomented diſcords: and, at laſt, when the allies found that he took upon him to domineer over all their rights, and carry himſelf with an air of inſolence, and to ſupport thoſe of the French faction in Holland, he ſoon became diſagreeable to them. However, the Dutch endeavoured, at this nice juncture, to cajole him by all the arts they could uſe to ſoften him. For, in his letter to Mr. ſecretary St. John, on the 25th of May, he owns the receipt of the foundation laid by Mr. Prior for a peace, and that he had communicated the ſame to the ſtates-general: and that the Dutch confeſſed, that nothing could be more acceptable and pleaſing to them, than the continuance of her majeſty's good-will towards them; yet, he ſays, the penſionary Heinſius looked upon theſe offers of peace as obſcure and indefinite, and made by the French king without any other deſign than to interrupt the friendſhip between the queen of England

England and the ſtates-general, and to diſſolve the confederacy. The ſtates, ſays he, recommend to her majeſty to take eſpecial care, that the French king may, as ſoon as poſſible, be obliged to explain his meaning clearly and diſtinctly, before ſhe put any confidence in him; and they promiſe to do the ſame on their part, and to communicate every thing to her majeſty.

THE lord Raby, who was not yet made acquainted with the ſecrets of the cabinet, added alſo, as his own opinion, That in this negociation of peace, great care ſhould be taken not to give the Dutch any cauſe of complaint againſt us. And he tells Mr. ſecretary St. John, That the French king's ſole deſign, and his only hope, is, that he may be able to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord among the confederates.

MR. ſecretary St. John, obſerving the lord Raby to be thus averſe to the peace, wrote to him, on the 29th of May, to come over to England as ſoon as poſſible: that her majeſty had ordered a ſhip to attend him: that he might conſult with her miniſtry here, and receive the honours her majeſty intended to confer upon him: "For", ſays he, "the intereſts of Great Britain are ſo entangled with foreign intereſts, "that it is high time for us now to divide and cut them aſunder."

IN anſwer to this, the lord Raby replied, on the 16th of June, that he was ready, at all events, to ſerve her majeſty; and that ſhe need not doubt but he would obey her majeſty's commands: and, in the ſame letter, he promiſed immediately to come to England, in the pacquet-boat, or the firſt ſhip that offered, great or ſmall, ready to undertake whatever ſhould be required of him. And accordingly he came to England without delay.

Offers of peace made by the French king.

THE preliminary articles, on the part of France, for procuring a general peace, dated 2d April 1711, were to this effect. As it is univerſally known, that the French king is well able to carry on the war with great glory to himſelf, ſo it is not any ſymptom of weakneſs or deſpondency in him, after the breaking up of the conference at Gertruydenburgh, now again to break ſilence, before the armies take the field.

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field. Having already diſcovered how averſe to peace thoſe perſons are, who have the management of affairs in the United Provinces, his majeſty now thinks fit to propoſe to the Engliſh nation ſuch terms as to him ſeem reaſonable, for putting an end to the war; and upon which, as preliminaries, he is ready and willing to treat of a peace. The terms he propoſes are theſe:

I. THAT a fair and firm treaty of commerce ſhall be ſettled with the Engliſh.

II. THAT the Dutch frontiers ſhall be ſecured by a firm barrier, with the approbation of the Engliſh, and a commerce be renewed with them.

III. THAT all due care ſhall be taken, that ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the allies of England and Holland.

IV. THAT how proſperous ſoever the king of Spain's affairs may be, the moſt effectual means ſhall be uſed, to compoſe all thoſe difficulties which have hitherto been ſtarted concerning the Spaniſh government, with the conſent of both parties, as well with reſpect to commerce, as to the rights of others.

V. THAT a treaty for a peace ſhall be held. And,

VI. THAT, for the place of holding ſuch treaty, the king propoſed Liege or Aix-la-Chapelle. Dated at Marli, 2d April.

THESE were the propoſals, which were tranſmitted to the lord Raby in Holland, by Mr. ſecretary St. John; and which the penſionary Heinſius called obſcure and indefinite, as indeed they appeared to be to all men.

THE lord Raby returned to England; and there treated with the miniſtry about places and honours for himſelf, before he would agree to their meaſures, or to take upon him the office of plenipotentiary for a treaty of peace. And they granted him all his own terms.

ON

ON the 1ſt day of July, theſe other demands were ſent from England into France:

Farther demands made by England.

I. THAT ſuch a peace be made as ſhall be ſatisfactory to all the allies.

II. THAT the fortified places on the Dutch frontiers ſhall be delivered up to them, and others to the emperor, for a ſecure barrier to both.

III. THAT others ſhall alſo be delivered up to the duke of Savoy, together with all that the French king has taken from him, or the emperor has promiſed him.

IV. THAT ſufficient care ſhall be taken, that a juſt balance of power be preſerved in Italy.

V. THAT ſufficient ſecurity be given, that the kingdoms of France and Spain ſhall never be united.

VI. THAT ſatisfaction ſhall be given to all the allies. And,

VII. THAT a commerce ſhall be confirmed to the Dutch.

Secret articles.

THERE were alſo the following ſecret articles demanded, in particular, for Great Britain:

I. THAT a free commerce ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

II. THAT her majeſty's title, as by law eſtabliſhed, ſhall be acknowledged throughout all France.

III. THAT Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca ſhall be yielded up to Great Britain.

IV. THAT Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed.

V. THAT the commerce for negroes, commonly called the Aſſiento, ſhall be transferred to the Britons.

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VI. That the excluſive poſſeſſion of Newfoundland ſhall be reſtored to the Britons: and that Hudſon's-bay ſhall be common to both the Britons and French.

VII. That all things ſhall remain in America in the ſame ſtate in which they ſhall be found at the concluſion of the peace.

VIII. That the Britons ſhall have the ſame privileges in Spain, as the French ſhall have. And,

Lastly, That theſe articles ſhall be kept ſecret on both ſides.

At this time Mr. Prior was ſent into France, to bring an anſwer to theſe moſt reaſonable demands, and to ſee by what authority the French king could treat of peace in behalf of king Philip of Spain. The French miniſtry gave him an anſwer to this queſtion; and ſent Monſ. Meſnager to London to bring over an anſwer to the demands made by England, and to ſign the articles in the French king's name.

On the 20th of September, the earl of Dartmouth and Mr. ſecretary St. John, by order of council, met and conferred with Monſ. Meſnager, at Mr. Prior's houſe, in the preſence of the lord high treaſurer. They came to an agreement upon all the articles: and their agreement was drawn up in writing by Mr. ſecretary St. John; who, in his letter to the queen, ſaid, "He would cook them up ſo, that "they would taſte very ſour to foreigners."

As to the ſeparate articles, particularly relating to the Engliſh, he thought them proper even yet to be kept ſecret: and towards the cloſe of this letter, he added, as the opinion of the council, that Mr. Prior ſhould be appointed one of thoſe who were to treat of peace, as being well verſed in commerce, and the firſt who had been intruſted with the ſcheme, and had tranſacted it with the marquis de Torcy.

The queen's warrant was ſent to the lord chancellor Harcourt on the 17th day of September, to ſeal a plenipotentiary commiſſion for the earl of Dartmouth, Mr. ſecretary St. John, and Mr. Prior, to ſubſcribe

ſcribe the aforeſaid articles: which act the lawyers held to be a breach of the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom. For it is evident to all men, that, till the 20th day of September, her majeſty had not the leaſt notice of that warrant which was ſent to the lord chancellor on the 19th of that month.

THIS unfair and corrupt action was afterwards imputed to the miniſtry as a crime; and that they had, by their own private authority, either agreed or treated upon articles of peace with Monſ. Meſnager, at their own diſcretion, without the privity and conſent of the allies. For this was contrary to the articles of the grand alliance: wherein it was expreſsly ſtipulated, "That, after the commencement of the war, "none of the parties ſhould treat about peace with the enemy ſepa-"rately, or without the privity and conſent of the reſt."

THOUGH theſe things were actually concluded at London, the miniſtry did not yet think proper to communicate them to the Dutch. But the lord Raby, now created earl of Strafford, having received his inſtructions, and prepared himſelf for his embaſſy, ſtaid to marry a very young lady with a large fortune. After this he haſtened into Holland; and being admitted to an audience at the Hague, he declared to the ſtates-general what he was inſtructed to ſay concerning the queen's reſolution. "If ye approve of the terms," ſaid he, "a peace "may ſoon be concluded: if not, I muſt declare to you, that her "majeſty will continue the war, but not in the ſame proportion as ſhe "hitherto has done; for ye muſt augment your expences for the war, "and her majeſty will abate of hers." He objected many things to the Dutch, in ſo reproachful a manner, as plainly tended to a breach of friendſhip.

Promotions at court.

AFTER the death of the earl of Rocheſter, the duke of Buckinghamſhire was appointed lord preſident of the council. The earl of Rivers was made colonel of a regiment, and at the ſame time maſter of the ordnance, inſtead of the duke of Marlborough. The earl of Jerſey had been lord warden of the cinque ports: but, on his death, that office was ſometime kept vacant; according to the earl of Oxford's cuſtom; who was wont to ſay, "Men are more apt to be influenced

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"by hopes than rewards." The lord Paget was made captain of the yeomen of the guards; Mr. Benſon, chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Queenſberry, her majeſty's third ſecretary of ſtate; the duke of Ormond was made lord lieutenant of Ireland; and the earl of Angelſey, a man of excellent parts, and others, had ſeveral other employments conferred upon them in that kingdom. The earls of Marr, Loudon, and Orkney, and others even of the Pretender's friends, were promoted to offices in Scotland. But the names of all thoſe who were in employments at that time are to be found in a book, intitled The preſent State of Great Britain. Few people are much concerned to know thoſe things, provided that they who hold theſe offices do but exerciſe them to the honour and ſafety of the kingdom.

I SHALL not take notice of the contentions for places, and of the multitudes who were diſappointed of their expectations from the earl of Oxford. But as it happened, in this allotment of places, that nothing fell to the ſhare of either the earl of Nottingham or the lord Guernſey, they, conſidering all the good ſervices they had done, and what the earl of Oxford's preſent conduct ſeemed to tend to, thought themſelves neglected, and made a private agreement with the other party. At firſt, they had been impoſed on by the name of the queen and religion; but now the ſafety of the kingdom drew them the other way. I ſhall ſay nothing here of the accuſations and reproaches that were thrown out on both ſides on this occaſion.

THE duke of St. Albans being removed from the office of captain of the band of penſioners, the ſame was immediately conferred upon the duke of Northumberland.

ONE thing gave much concern to many people, that the queen ſhould violate the rights of blood: and, at this time, when many men of ſcandalous morals were promoted to places, it was thought to be greatly below the queen's dignity to withdraw her favours from a young nobleman of the higheſt reputation for deſcent, dignity, and every virtue, I mean the earl of Lincoln, ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the antiquity of his family, only becauſe he could not be prevailed with to vote in parliament againſt his conſcience.

IT is a laudable cuſtom in England for our kings to contribute to the ſupport of noble perſons, eſpecially peers of the realm, when they happen to be reduced to narrow circumſtances, or born to ſmall fortunes. But neither the ſolicitations of his friends nor the threatenings of his enemies, the prayers of his mother or the tears of his ſiſters, nor even neceſſity itſelf could ever move the earl of Lincoln to depart in the leaſt from his principles: for he choſe to ſhare with many illuſtrious men in the honour of a patient ſubmiſſion to poverty, rather than ſhamefully to deſert his country's cauſe, rightly judging that nothing was unworthy of him that was not diſhonourable. This noble youth therefore, with a very ſlender fortune of his own, and without the leaſt favour from the queen, now ſupported his pious mother and affectionate ſiſters much more honourably than ſome who were high in her majeſty's favour, and poſſeſſed of the moſt lucrative employments; for which his lordſhip was thought worthy of the higheſt applauſe.

THE duke of Newcaſtle, who was a good man, and the richeſt in all England, died this ſummer of a fall from his horſe in hunting.

THE duke of Argyle proceeded to Genoa; where, finding the money he expected not paid, nor bills remitted, and credit but low, he made loud complaints of the new lord treaſurer; and began to ſuſpect that he was deceived, and ſent abroad for no other reaſon than to prevent his diſcovering what was doing at home in relation to the peace: and now, full of reſentment, and at a diſtance from the confuſions in England, he calmly revolved many things in his own mind, and exerciſed a prudent precaution. At length, having a fleet ready, he ſailed into Spain; for general Stanhope being a priſoner of war, was ſtill detained there. Many objections were made againſt him: nor would thoſe in England, who envied his glory, notwithſtanding the many proſperous actions in which he had been engaged, make allowance for one unſucceſsful battle, and that too not of his own ſeeking, but into which he had been drawn by the neceſſity of his ſituation.

THE miſcarriages in Spain were now to be retrieved by the duke of Argyle, who was very ambitious of command. But as ſoon as he arrived

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in that kingdom he found reaſon to complain of the want of many things: and indeed, what was the chief of all, he wanted money for the war, and the queen wanted the will; for ſhe thought there was enough blood ſhed already, and therefore reſolved to lay a foundation for peace on certain preliminaries privately concluded in France.

THE duke of Argyle, who had the ſatisfaction of finding himſelf very acceptable to king Charles and count Staremberg, taking upon himſelf the command of the Britiſh, and other forces in the Britiſh pay, drew out the army from their winter-quarters. Count Staremberg alſo drew out the forces under his command.

ACCORDING to the reſolution taken in a council of war, the duke of Argyle marched as ſoon as poſſible againſt the enemy, in order to fall upon them in paſſing the narrow roads: and as they were greatly ſuperior to the confederates in number, they ſoon gave him an opportunity. They met, they fought, and the Spaniards were repulſed. The duke of Argyle ſeized the paſſes, and haraſſed their forces by ſlight ſkirmiſhes.

AT length the duke, falling ſick of a burning fever, was in great danger of his life: the fever having ſomewhat abated, the duke removed for his recovery out of the camp. He ſuffered a relapſe, and as the fever was now found to be intermittent, the phyſicians were in hopes of curing it by the uſe of the bark. As ſoon as the danger ſeemed to be over, the duke paſſed over to Minorca. There he ſtaid a long time, leaving the forces in Spain. He gave orders for every thing neceſſary for repairing the works, fortifying Port-Mahon, and providing the magazines with all ſorts of military ſtores; and wrote to the queen what he thought proper to be done: and all this while the fever ſtill continued.

Siege of Cardona.

COUNT STAREMBERG, being too weak to hazard a battle, did his utmoſt to defend the caſtles which the confederates had taken in Spain. At length the enemy inveſted the caſtle of Cardona, and began to beſiege it. The Spaniards and French lay here a long time before it. Staremberg haraſſed them,

them, and interrupted their progreſs by frequent ſkirmiſhes. At length, when they were reduced to the want of all things, the enemy reſolved to ſtorm the breach which they had made in the wall of the caſtle. Count Staremberg being informed of this intention, and alſo that the garriſon were but very few in number, and the fortifications weak, reſolved to make an attempt to raiſe the ſiege. The caſtle was ſituated on the top of a hill, and the duke of Vendoſme had poſted himſelf on the back of it. When the ſoldiers were drawn up for the aſſault, the garriſon from the caſtle gave a ſignal to count Staremberg, that they were now reduced to the laſt extremity. His forces were immediately drawn up to attack the enemy's camp: and he ordered another detachment of his forces to march up the hill, in order to make their way into the caſtle and reinforce the garriſon.

THIS party marched a different way, to fall upon the enemy in open flank on the middle of the hill. But when they had got half-way up, finding themſelves intercepted by the enemy, who were poſſeſſed of all the upper part of the hill, they endeavoured to force their way into the caſtle. Here the fight was long and bloody. Some of the confederates were repulſed, others made their way into the caſtle; and there was a great ſlaughter on both ſides. In the mean time, count Staremberg began to attack the enemy's camp, and to fall upon the Spaniards in the rear. While all things were thus in confuſion, the garriſon from within threw out fire-balls and grenades, and made uſe of their guns to great advantage. The confederates derived from this engagement the benefit of retarding the enemy in their attempts to ſtorm the caſtle. And the moſt conſiderable loſs to the confederates was that of general Stanhope's brother, who, fighting bravely in this battle, was ſlain. When this was reported to king Charles, his majeſty not only lamented the death of this gallant youth, but the unhappy ſtate of the Stanhope family throughout this whole war.

HAVING already ſhewn what meaſures were clandeſtinely taken in England for procuring a peace, I am now to relate the hard ſervices of the campaign in Flanders.

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THE duke of Marlborough, who was continued this year in the command of the army, againſt the inclination of many who exerted all their eloquence in parliament againſt him, croſſed the ſeas on the 18th day of February, that he might ſhew he had nothing to do with the queen's enemies; and that he might be preſent at the conferences of the confederates, and concert meaſures with the ſtates-general, relating both to peace and war, according to the queen's inſtructions.

The duke of Marlborough's laſt campaign.

THOUGH the duke of Marlborough acted now ſomewhat leſs confidently in every thing ſince the queen had changed her counſels, yet in purſuance of his former reſolutions, he drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, that they might be in the field before the enemy; and poſting ſeveral detachments at proper diſtances along the river Scarpe, as far as to the canal of Doway, had them in readineſs to be formed into a body fit to march on the firſt notice. This buſineſs was intruſted to the conduct of lieutenant-general Cadogan, and executed with ſuch ſecreſy, that the enemy could neither prevent Marlborough's deſign, nor diſcover the number of his forces. And magazines were alſo provided at Tournay and other places near the French frontiers.

AFTER prince Eugene had been long expected at the Hague, he wrote letters, ſignifying that he was detained by affairs of the higheſt importance, on occaſion of the emperor's death; and that it was not neceſſary for the duke of Marlborough to wait for him at the Hague.

THE marſhal de Villars, having ordered his forces alſo into the field, arrived at Arras on the 25th of April, and the duke of Marlborough at Tournay on the 26th; the duke paſſing the Scarpe, encamped his army between Doway and Bouchain. And the French took poſſeſſion of a very advantageous camp behind the river Senſette, in a place full of marſhes, and on every ſide inacceſſible.

THE duke of Marlborough continued in his camp for ſome time without attempting any thing. But on the 9th of May, the enemy ſent out a detachment of three thouſand men to intercept a convoy of forty-five boats laden with proviſions for the confederate army, in their paſ-

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ſage up the river from Liſle and Doway. They fell unexpectedly upon the guard, to which they were much ſuperior in number. But the governor of St. Amand having notice of it, came out immediately to the aſſiſtance of the convoy, and made a ſtout reſiſtance. Upon this the French, having burnt or ſunk twelve of the boats, and loſt a great number of their own men, retreated to their army.

PRINCE EUGENE, having viewed the lines and other poſts upon the Rhine, and given ſuch orders as he thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of the empire, concerted meaſures with the elector of Mentz, as chancellor, and the elector palatine, as vicar of the empire, for the election of a king of the Romans. After this he came to dine with the duke of Marlborough on the 23d of May, and to celebrate the anniverſary of the victory obtained at Ramillies, though greatly fatigued with his journey, and the pains he had taken.

IN this critical juncture, they did not think proper to attempt any thing, ſo long as the French continued in that poſt; from which it was hoped they muſt ſoon be forced to decamp for want of forage, which now grew ſcarce among them.

IN the mean time, the French king, being deſirous of making ſome advantages of the interregnum and vacancy of the imperial throne, concerted meaſures with the elector of Bavaria; whom he not only knew to be highly beloved by his own people, and eſteemed among the other princes, but believed him alſo to have great intereſt among the neighbouring cities. He therefore drew out a body of troops, even from Flanders, to form an army on the Upper Rhine: and this was to be commanded by the elector of Bavaria, to embarraſs the affairs of Germany, and eſpecially to interrupt the electoral diet which was to aſſemble at Franckfort.

THE marſhal de Villars, who at that time confided in the ſtrength of his well-fortified lines, as if they had been the duke of Marlborough's *Ne plus ultra*, haſtened the march of the detachment, according to orders, for the Rhine.

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THE Germans bordering upon the Rhine were ſo alarmed at the report of this army's approach, that they ſent expreſſes to the court of Vienna, and to all the princes, to preſs for aſſiſtance, and to entreat them to come to their ſuccour with all ſpeed.

THOUGH the elector of Bavaria had not been very forward to undertake this expedition, yet the frequent letters and meſſengers ſent to prince Eugene, prevailed with him to reſolve upon returning with the imperial troops into Germany; and therefore, after a conſultation with the duke of Marlborough, he gave orders to his forces to march. The reſult of the council was, that the whole army ſhould decamp: and accordingly they moved in two bodies. The duke of Marlborough paſſed the Scarpe, to the plains of Lens; and prince Eugene marched by the way of Tournay, towards Germany.

WHEN the confederates had thus divided their forces, the French were in hopes that they might reſt in quiet, and be free from any fatigue the reſt of the ſummer. The duke of Marlborough prepared every thing which he might need; well knowing that in thoſe parts into which he intended to march, he ſhould find nothing but the fields uncultivated, and the country laid waſte by the peſtilence.

ON the 20th of July, his grace moving his camp, marched along the French frontiers towards Aire, as if he had deſigned to force their lines, and penetrate farther into the country, in order to lay ſiege to St. Omer's. The marſhal de Villars, informed of this, with the utmoſt expedition, and great confidence in his ſtrength, alſo removed his camp, in order to oppoſe him: when he had advanced a conſiderable way from his old ſtation and the Senſette, and had continued ſome time in his new camp, the duke of Marlborough went on the 4th of Auguſt, by break of day, to take a view of his lines: and having made the proper diſpoſition for attacking them, and appointed the ſoldiers their reſpective poſts, he gave orders for them all to be under arms by nine of the clock at night. Villars receiving intelligence of this by his ſpies, ordered his forces out from behind their lines towards that part where he expected the duke to make the attack; placing garriſons,

garriſons, and fortifying the caſtles, and drawing a line, with a wall near forty miles in length, and fourteen feet in height, and a ditch, to prevent the confederates from penetrating into France: and if they ſhould attempt to force their way thither, he hoped to ſtop them by the number of his ſoldiers, and the ſtrength of his works.

When the armies had ſtood a long time in readineſs on both ſides, the duke of Marlborough, after various marches and counter-marches, about the time when marſhal de Villars expected him to make an attack, wheeled off, and taking a different rout, led his left wing out of the enemy's ſight, commanding the right to follow him. Marching all night with profound ſilence, and without beat of drum, he paſſed the Scarpe; and arriving at the Scheldt by break of day, he paſſed that river alſo, himſelf covering the rear, with the horſe of the left wing, leſt Villars ſhould force the confederates to an engagement in ſome diſadvantageous place.

When the duke of Marlborough had paſſed his forces acroſs the river, he received advice that the detachment from the garriſon of Doway had already taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes on the Senſette, according to his orders; and therefore he haſtened his march thither, followed by his right wing.

As ſoon as it was light, the marſhal de Villars ſent out a party of horſe to obſerve which way the confederates bent their march, but did not make any attempt upon their rear; at which the French were ſo much diſheartened, and offended at the conduct of Villars, that they made loud complaints of him. He excuſed himſelf to his friends, alleging that the duke of Marlborough had baffled and deceived him; and that the duke had either not obeyed the queen's orders, or elſe the queen herſelf had not kept her promiſe privately made to the French king: but, diſſembling his inward vexation, he exhorted his ſoldiers to keep their courage, giving out, that he would ſoon ſtop the confederates progreſs, and reduce them to the want of all ſorts of proviſions, before their ſupplies of corn and other neceſſaries could reach their camp. He

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wrote alſo to the French king, that the duke of Marlborough had made a march which would end in his diſgrace, and the deſtruction of the confederates. This report was ſpread alſo at Rome, and other parts of Italy: and the duke of Marlborough was highly blamed for advancing raſhly into the midſt of the enemy's garriſons and forces, from whence he could neither retreat by reaſon of the intercepted roads, nor ſtand his ground, nor be able to make any attempt for want both of forage and bread, from which he would be cut off within two day's time: but theſe things were no impediment to the duke of Marlborough; who, by his great abilities, ſurmounted thoſe natural difficulties, and did not fear the want of proviſions.

AND now his grace diſpatched brigadier Sutton into England, to make a report to the queen of what was done. Sutton, on his arrival, was very coldly received at court; where nothing at that time was leſs acceptable, than news of good ſucceſs in the field: for all England echoed with the noiſe of the danger of the church, and the low ſtate to which France was reduced; and the clergy made a loud outcry, ſometimes that we were now made a prey to the emperor, and ſometimes to the Dutch: nay, ſuch was the madneſs of thoſe times, that Dr. Swift, a contemner of all religions, and Dr. Arbuthnot, one of the queen's phyſicians, applied themſelves to write libels againſt the war, and the allies of the people of England.

THE duke of Marlborough, in this important conjuncture, not to be wanting to the ſervice of the confederates and the ſafety of his country, nor yet to his own glory, reſolved to lay ſiege to Bouchain, a fortreſs very ſtrong both by nature and art, and ſituated within the enemy's lines, according to a ſcheme before projected by general Schuylemburgh. On the 9th day of Auguſt a draught was made of ſeventeen battalions from the right wing, and of thirteen from the left, together with twelve ſquadrons, under the command of general Fagel, lieutenant-general Collier, and the lord North and Gray, to inveſt the town. On the 10th his grace himſelf followed them to take a view of all the avenues.

Bouchain beſieged.

When the marſhal de Villars perceived this, it is reported that he ſaid, "He would ſubmit to be called an uſeleſs commander, if the "duke of Marlborough's troops retreated from thence without great "loſs:" and he wrote letters alſo to the French king, replete with pompous words, but not accompanied with correſponding actions.

The duke of Marlborough was ſo far from thinking of a retreat, that he took care to have the magazines well furniſhed, and the roads leading towards the town levelled and ſtrongly guarded, and ordered general Dopf to croſs the Lower Scheldt with forty ſquadrons. There he received intelligence that the marſhal de Villars had paſſed the Upper Scheldt, and was in full march towards him: whereupon he returned the next day to the grand army, and gave orders to his forces to make ready to march againſt the enemy: but the difficult hollow ways and narrow paſſes between them, made it impracticable to come to a battle, ſo that both armies returned to their former camps.

The duke of Marlborough ordered his camp to be ſecured by a trench ſix or ten feet deep, fortified at proper diſtances with redoubts and half-moons, mounted with cannon; and the French alſo drew an entrenchment from the mountain from Marquette to the inundation before the town, which was in many places ſix feet deep, and very marſhy: behind this entrenchment were poſted thirty battalions with thirty pieces of cannon.

On the 10th Sir Richard Temple and lieutenant-general Withers were detached from the army, with twenty battalions and as many ſquadrons to the aſſiſtance of general Fagel.

About this time the marſhal de Villars, attended by a troop of a hundred huſſars and four ſquadrons of carabineers, came out of his lines to obſerve the confederates motions. The duke of Marlborough, on receiving intelligence of this, ſent out a like number of his to meet and attack them: they no ſooner met than a fierce conflict began between the carabineers on both ſides, and the huſſars on both ſides. At length the huſſars in the French ſervice being defeated, the carabi-

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neers were put to flight, and purſued by the confederates into the French camp: and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the marſhal himſelf eſcaped falling that day into the hands of the confederates.

THE French, at the ſame time that the confederates were carrying on their works, built two redoubts for the purpoſe of facilitating a communication, and throwing freſh troops into the town. The duke of Marlborough, on ſeeing this, appeared before their works by break of day with a large body of troops, gave orders that his circumvallation ſhould be advanced, and that thoſe redoubts ſhould be taken in within it: he then haſtened to count Tilly's camp, leſt he ſhould be ſurpriſed by ſome ſudden diſaſter: but as ſoon as the enemy ſaw the confederates appear before their entrenchments, they left their works and returned to their camp.

WHEN the lines were drawn from one caſtle to another, many cornfields, and other places convenient for forage, were incloſed within their compaſs: and, that the confederates might have the wider range of forage, the duke of Marlborough commanded them to take poſſeſſion of the fields lying between the Scheldt and the Senſette.

THROUGH the marſh and inundation there ran a little narrow path, called by the inhabitants the Cow-path, which led into the town. This therefore the marſhal de Villars fortified with a parapet: but the duke of Marlborough no ſooner perceived this, than he commanded a great number of faſcines and ſacks of earth, and ſuch other materials as were next at hand, to be immediately provided, and bags full of ſtones to be thrown into the inundation; thereby to make a ſort of faſcinade in the waters, to open a paſſage to his men through the moraſs.

WHEN this work was almoſt finiſhed, and carried on ſo far as the path, and the marſhes covered with bridges, the Duke himſelf went thither, and diſcovered the cow-path, with the parapet extending five hundred yards in length, and guarded by four companies of the enemies grenadiers. Upon this, without loſs of time, he ordered that fortified

fortified path to be immediately attacked by four hundred grenadiers, among whom he diſtributed ſome money.

On the 16th theſe, and other brave men, fearleſs of danger, marched through the moraſs and inundation up to the middle in water; and with undaunted courage attacked the enemy's guard, being ſuſtained by eight battalions, under the command of lieutenant-general Cadogan. The moment they came up to the enemy they poured in their fire of all kinds upon them, which ſo terrified the French, that they ſhamefully abandoned the parapet which they had built in the waters: and thus Cadogan took poſſeſſion of the enemy's works, with very little or no loſs.

The lines of circumvallation being finiſhed, and the town environed on all ſides, on the 23d the cannon were planted againſt the walls on three ſides. Two attacks againſt the upper town were carried on by general Fagel; and under him, on the right, by the lord North and Gray; and on the left by lieutenant-general Collier: and theſe, that they might not be interrupted by the enemy, were ſupported by forty ſquadrons under general Dopf, and twenty battalions under lieutenant-general Withers. The third attack againſt the lower town was carried on under the direction of lieutenant-general Schwartzen.

On the 30th of Auguſt the confederates began to play their cannon and mortars, and diſcharged a thick ſhower of ſhot upon the enemy: In the mean time the marſhal de Villars ſent out a detachment of two thouſand grenadiers and one thouſand fuſileers from his camp, to retake the cow-path and works which they had loſt, and others to attack the faſcinade in the middle of the night. The duke of Marlborough appriſed of theſe things, ſent a meſſenger to lieutenant-general Finck, who commanded the guard there, to admoniſh him of his danger and duty: and he being thus prepared to receive them, defended himſelf gallantly againſt the enemy's aſſault, and drove them from the works.

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THE marſhal de Villars, when he ſaw that he could by no means force the confederates to raiſe the ſiege, made an attempt to retake Doway by ſtratagem. To this end he ſent out a detachment of ten thouſand men, under the command of lieutenant-general Albergotti; who, after marching all night, arrived at the city before day, bringing boats and ſcaling-ladders along with them. When they advanced near the walls, they were diſcovered by the centinels: who, demanding who they were, and whither they were going? Their leaders anſwered, they were fiſhermen, and deſired to be let in. This cauſing a ſuſpicion, they were ordered to "be gone with their ſtinking fiſh, for "they were too early for the market." In the mean time the fire of a muſquet alarmed the guard at the gates, which happened that night to be doubled. The garriſon immediately run to arms: the French were repulſed; and with the loſs of many killed, and ſome few wounded, returned to their camp.

IN the mean time the ſiege of Bouchain was carried on with good ſucceſs. The beſiegers, with great bravery, drove the beſieged out of their works and the traverſe, and took the half moon upon the wall, without any great loſs: which they had no ſooner done than the enemy, for fear of the near neighbourhood of the confederates, deſerted alſo another half moon adjoining to it.

THE ſoldiers being now drawn out, and every thing prepared for a general aſſault both on the ſide of the upper and the lower town, the enemy gave the ſignal from the walls, and ſent out hoſtages, with propoſals of a capitulation, to general Fagel's quarters. When the hoſtages were introduced, and the French deſired to have their articles read, "The duke of Marlborough told them, in ſhort, they were not "to bring him their terms, but to receive his, ſince they had waited "to the laſt extremity; and therefore he would not grant them any "other terms than to be made priſoners of war." The hoſtages returning with this anſwer to the governor, hoſtilities were renewed, and went on without the leaſt intermiſſion: for now the confederates, rendered furious by their obſtinate reſiſtance, ſeemed reſolute, by the continued firing, to deſtroy the town, and put the garriſon to the ſword.

ſword. But when the marſhal de Villars gave the beſieged neither any relief, nor hopes of any, and the garriſon found themſelves more and more diſtreſſed, they gave a freſh ſignal from the walls, and ſurrendered themſelves and the town to the confederates on the 13th of September, without any terms. The townſmen indeed deſired protection for themſelves and their families, which was granted. The ſoldiers of the garriſon deſired leave to return into France, to attend their own affairs and be cured of their wounds, as the confederates had been ſo kind as to grant the like indulgence to their fellow-ſoldiers in ſome other places which had been taken: but this was refuſed to them by the duke of Marlborough, who told them he had formerly granted this favour to others, confiding in their word and promiſe, that they would not have ſerved again in arms before they had been exchanged; and that they muſt impute it to the perfidy of their fellow-ſoldiers, that he did not ſhew the ſame indulgence to them at this time. However, their wounded men were allowed to remain at Cambray, as priſoners of war, till their wounds were healed: for never was there a commander in any age or nation who was either naturally, or through the influence of habit and cuſtom, more inclined to clemency and moderation than the duke of Marlborough. The ſoldiers, marching out to the number of two thouſand, with the count de Ravignan, and monſieur de St. Luc at their head, were conducted into the inner parts of Brabant.

Bouchain taken.

THE French ſoldiers, according to their cuſtom, boaſted, that they had forced the governor to ſurrender, chiefly becauſe the marſhal de Villars, who had given them great expectation of his coming to raiſe the ſiege, had not made any gallant effort to that purpoſe: and the officers and brave ſoldiers in the French army ſaid, it was not their fault that the ſiege was not raiſed, and the march of the confederates obſtructed; but, without any grounds, pretended to ſay, it was all owing to the marſhal's having faithfully obſerved what had been agreed on, and to the treachery of the Engliſh in their not obſerving it: but every one may eaſily ſee, that all this idle diſcourſe is wholly to be imputed to the vanity of the French.

AFTER

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AFTER the reduction of Bouchain, the Dutch field-deputies wrote to the ſtates-general, of how great importance this town might be to open a way for them into the very heart of France: they ſet forth count Tilly's reſolution, general Fagel's diligence, the ſpeedy progreſs of the ſiege, and the great courage of all, with deſerved commendation: and they extolled the duke of Marlborough's conduct, magnanimity, and military prudence, to the very ſkies.

WHILE all foreign nations conſtantly and on all occaſions applauded the great actions performed by the duke of Marlborough in this campaign, ſome of the Engliſh alone made it their buſineſs to turn them into ridicule: his grace, as uſual, wrote to the queen an account of all that had paſſed in the army, the march, the paſſing the river, and the ſiege; how the confederates had defeated the ſtratagems of the enemy, and deceived the enemy themſelves by ſtratagem; raiſed a faſcinade in the waters, and taken their works; prevented them from cutting off their communications; but on the contrary intercepted thoſe of the enemy, and thereby reduced them to great ſtraits: he gave the officers and ſoldiers the praiſes juſtly due to their valour, but ſaid not a word to magnify his own conduct; aſcribing all the ſucceſs to Divine Providence, and her majeſty's good fortune: as to the allegations of the French, that the confederates had violated their engagements, the duke of Marlborough diſproved them by certificates and atteſtations, even of the French themſelves.

WHEN Bouchain was taken, ſix thouſand of the forces employed in the ſiege of that town were placed there as a garriſon, the approaches levelled, and the fortifications immediately repaired, as well as the ſeaſon would permit: then the duke of Marlborough decamped, and advanced towards the enemy: the marſhal de Villars on this retreated farther within the French frontiers, and deſtroyed the fields, leſt the confederates, who cloſely obſerved his motions, ſhould force the French to a battle.

THE ſummer being now ſpent, and the weather ſo rainy as to render it unfit for another ſiege, after it was found impracticable to bring the enemy

enemy to a battle, and the marſhal de Villars had diſtributed his forces into their winter-quarters; the duke of Marlborough alſo led back his forces, and quartered them to ſuch advantage, that his army might be formed on the very firſt intelligence of any accident: for their winter-quarters were ſo conveniently diſpoſed, that the French, ſhut up within their garriſons and lines, could neither be drawn together in the winter, nor in a condition to undertake any enterprize; and yet the confederates might eaſily penetrate into the heart of France. And now, when the duke of Marlborough took his leave of the ſtates-general, he ſaid, "He was grieved, that he was now obliged to re-"turn into England, when all his ſervices to their republic were to be "turned to his diſgrace."

But now the long and uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs in the war began, through the alteration of the times, to decline apace, and the French ſeemed to conceive freſh hopes and new light.

We have already ſhewn the diſpoſition of the queen, the induſtrious interference of the clergy, the hatred raiſed againſt the duke of Marlborough, the madneſs of the populace, the raſhneſs of the Venetians, and ſome of the Dutch, the emperor Joſeph's indolence, and the duke of Savoy's artifices. Many things, of which even the common people had before got a notion, relating to the ſecret negociations for a peace between the French king and the queen, were now clearly diſcovered by his emiſſaries to count Gallas, the emperor's ambaſſador in England.

The expedition to Quebec, raſhly undertaken by brigadier-general Hill, was unſucceſsful. Many ſhips were by a tempeſt driven upon the ſands and rocks, and there loſt in the river; others, being caſt upon the ſhore, were plundered by the inhabitants; and the crew, being firſt ſtript, were either ſcalped by the ſavages of thoſe parts, or periſhed of hunger and cold, or other cruel and barbarous kinds of death. The news of this being brought to England, thoſe who were bent upon the duke of Marlborough's ruin, laid all the blame of this miſcarriage upon misfortune: but others ſaid, there had been ſuch a con-

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teſt in this expedition between misfortune and miſmanagement, that nobody could judge whether Mrs. Maſham, the projectreſs of it, for whoſe private intereſt it was undertaken, was a gainer or a loſer by it. The earl of Oxford ſaid, he had always oppoſed this undertaking; and that the managers of this American expedition had never given any account of the money to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds iſſued out of the treaſury for it, of which loud complaints were afterwards made by the impatient people. But all theſe things, through the queen's connivance, were overlooked: and the multitude of impoſitions was ſo great, that none of the public defaulters were compelled to refund their peculations. Many things were pardoned for the ſake of party, and the cenſures were poſtponed till another time. And thus offenders were not ſo much reſtrained by the ſenſe of the crime, as the criminals were rendered more audacious by impunity. However, thoſe who were of opinion that an eſtimate is to be formed of fortune rather by counſels and facts, than by events, blamed this expedition.

When a motion was made this year in the parliament of England, for preſenting an addreſs of thanks to her majeſty for entering into a negociation of peace, warm debates aroſe; and it met with great oppoſition, as well in the parliament as without doors, by the Imperial, and baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian ambaſſadors, for which they were both forbid the court.

King Charles III. of Spain, being now choſen king of the Romans, in his return to Germany from Spain, on board the Engliſh fleet, in the beginning of October, touching on the coaſt of Italy, notified his arrival to the ſtates of Genoa, and deſired their leave to paſs through their territories, which of right he might have demanded of them: but when he found they took more time to deliberate about this requeſt than they ought, he was ſo much offended at their delay, and withal ſo ſea-ſick, that he landed the next day, and went in all ſpeed to Milan, without leave of the Genoeſe. Thither all Italy crowded to congratulate him. The duke of Savoy went to meet him, as did alſo the dukes of Parma and Modena. Theſe, and many other princes, ſent their ambaſſadors to compliment him as emperor. The great

great duke of Tuſcany's younger ſon came to ſalute him. The republics of Venice and Lucca ſent a ſplendid embaſſy. And the pope himſelf ſent cardinal Imperiali, a man of great celebrity, and highly acceptable to him, as his legate à latere. But the delays made by the Genoeſe were ſo deeply reſented, that their ambaſſador was the only one who was refuſed an audience. His majeſty had no ſooner notice of the arrival of the legate à latere, than he went to meet him at the appointed time without the gate, and received him with the cuſtomary ceremonies. They both made their entry into the city on horſeback, with their heads covered, accompanied with a great train of noblemen and knights. When they came to the cathedral, they took leave of each other. His majeſty, turning to the right-hand, went into his palace. The legate went into the church of St. Charles, to return thanks to God. Here aroſe a conteſt between his majeſty's guards and the officers of the church, about a canopy of a cloth of gold, which was taken by the guards as their perquiſite, much againſt the will of the churchmen. That night, and the following, the legate was lodged in his majeſty's palace; which was an extraordinary compliment, becauſe he was an extraordinary favourite. At length, at the requeſt of the legate, his majeſty was prevailed with to admit the Genoeſe ambaſſador alſo; and having accepted their preſents, he was reconciled again to that city

Amidst this great concourſe of all the Italian and German princes and ambaſſadors, Richard lord viſcount Lonſdale, and Mr. Alexander Cunningham, his fellow-traveller, who were the only men of the Britiſh nation at that time in thoſe parts, came to Milan. And as they were no ſtrangers to what was then privately tranſacted in England, they immediately deſired to be admitted to pay their duty to his majeſty, which was granted. His majeſty gave them a gracious audience. For he was well aſſured of the fidelity and zeal which both of them had for his ſervice, and how much they abhorred all thoughts of having any concern in the baſe meaſures which were then carrying on in England. His majeſty ſpake much in commendation of the civility of the private ſubjects in England, and of the good

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offices done to him there; but ſaid not a word of the queen or her counſels.

AND in this indeed he ſhewed his great wiſdom, as they were only private perſons, and far from having any ſhare either in her majeſty's counſels, or in the adminiſtration of the public affairs. He alſo commanded his miniſters to entertain them with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, and to furniſh them with all ſorts of accommodation. Though they were not in want of any thing, yet they were invited to many entertainments.

BEING invited to ſup that night with count Wratiſlaw, as they were coming to ſupper, they were overwhelmed, as it were with a ſudden tempeſt, by the news brought by an expreſs from count Gallas, that the cauſe of the confederates was betrayed in England. On this they were ſo ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, that they crowded about the two Engliſhmen in the palace, aſking them queſtions; but all to no purpoſe.

THE young lord Lonſdale, alarmed at the novelty of his ſituation, and the tumult of the Germans, whiſpered to Cunningham, that it would be prudent for them to withdraw from the palace. But Cunningham refuſed to do this, and diſſembling his fear, inquired, What was the matter? The Germans told them every thing: that the queen had entered into a treaty with the French king; that the confederates were betrayed; and that count Gallas was ordered to leave England in two days, and was now actually come over to Holland. To this Cunningham replied, "Theſe are ſtrange times! This is ſtrange "news! I have been afraid indeed, ever ſince the beginning of this "confederate war, and eſpecially within the two laſt years, of ſome "unhappy effects of a female government; I therefore reſolved volun-"tarily to travel abroad, rather than to ſtay at home to be a ſpectator "of ſuch things; even now to bear a ſhare with you in your injuries, "than to have any thing to do with thoſe works of iniquity. Do not "think that the Engliſh nation are ſo ſtupid, as after ſo many victories

obtained,

"obtained, when the prize is now juſt ready to fall into their hands, "to ſuffer it to eſcape them. Ye tell me ye are betrayed: but it is "incredible. Do but look back upon the fidelity of the Engliſh, "of which ye have had ſo much experience hitherto; and then ye will "rather confide in them ſtill, than ſuſpect them to be capable of de- "ceiving you now." He added a great many other arguments and words of courſe, that both himſelf and fellow-traveller might the more readily eſcape the frowns of the Germans.

In the mean time, count Wratiſlaw conducted them to ſupper. There the Germans again aſked many queſtions about the queen, and about her miniſters. Cunningham confeſſed, that the loſs of reputation and credit was greater than could be imagined, and made ſuch other anſwers as he thought proper: but he laid the chief blame upon the clergy, whoſe blindneſs and influence in the parliament was at that time incredibly great; and deſired them not to be too haſty to give credit to any reports, till they ſhould firſt ſee how theſe things would end.

After ſupper the two Engliſhmen returned to their own apartments. Soon after this the earl of Peterborough arrived ſuddenly in that city, and received the compliments of count Wratiſlaw, and others of his majeſty's miniſters, the ſame night. They inquired of him, what was the reaſon of the change of meaſures in England? Which of the confederates had offended the queen? And why her majeſty would now give up her allies as a ſacrifice, and betray their glorious cauſe to the common enemy? The earl of Peterborough, with great promptitude and preſence of mind, invented ingenious apologies, and made ſuch anſwers as he thought fit, without much inward concern, however, at that alteration of affairs, which gave them ſo much uneaſineſs and diſpleaſure.

The next day the lord viſcount Lonſdale and Mr. Cunningham took an opportunity to viſit his lordſhip, and to congratulate him on his arrival. After their mutual compliments, the earl of Peterborough ſaid, "What is the matter here? I perceive his majeſty's miniſters to be

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" full of uneaſineſs. I had ſcarcely come into town before they fell upon " me, and teazed me with a thouſand queſtions; ſo that I had neither " a wink of ſleep laſt night, nor any reſt this morning. Tell me, " therefore, I pray you, what is the meaning of it?" Mr. Cunningham made him this anſwer: " It is very well for us that your lordſhip " is come. It is impoſſible to relate what we went through the laſt " night. But as your lordſhip is acquainted with all her majeſty's " counſels, you muſt needs know every thing that is doing in Eng- " land: and ſince you are able to anſwer all their queſtions, and to " ſatisfy all their deſires, be pleaſed, my lord, to impart that ſatiſ- " faction, which they deſire ſo eagerly, to us. They tell us here very " ſtrange things; that the queen is ſecretly treating with the French " king about a peace; and that count Gallas, the ambaſſador, was " ordered to depart the kingdom; and what not. That any unjuſ- " tifiable meaſures are carrying on in England, is a ſad thing to be re- " ported, and moſt afflicting to us to hear. If this be true, you muſt " know it; and for my part, if they aſk me any more queſtions about " it, I ſhall refer them to your lordſhip."

The earl of Peterborough replied, " I have a very weighty affair " to negociate here; not leſs than twenty thouſand pounds payable to " me by king Charles." " That is indeed," ſaid the other, " a weighty " affair. Your lordſhip muſt therefore ſuit yourſelf to their humour, " diſſemble your own ſentiments of the peace, and conſult the glory " and welfare of our nation, as you would have others conſult your " own intereſt." He alſo added many other things concerning the diſhonour this peace would reflect upon England; concluding with a wiſh, that the queen would continue this one year firm to her alliance with the new emperor, and once more try his fortune in the field.

In the mean time, the prince of Newburgh, his majeſty's uncle, was diſpatched, by the unanimous vote of all the princes of Germany, as their deputy to king Charles, to make him a tender of the imperial dignity in form. The prince was graciouſly received at Milan. And now king Charles, accepting their offer of the empire, his imperial majeſty ſet forth, by the way of Lodi, Cremona, Mantua, and

Charles VI. crowned emperor.

the Alps, towards Francfort upon the Maine, for his coronation. This ceremony being performed with the cuſtomary ſolemnities in the month of December, the princes and ambaſſadors, of whom an incredible number attended on this occaſion, returned home, and the emperor himſelf ſet out for Vienna, to take upon him the adminiſtration of the empire.

When he nominated his officers to their reſpective poſts, he ſtrictly enjoined the young count Altheim, his intimate favourite, who was admitted to partake of all his moſt private recreations, not to take upon him any public office, nor intermeddle in any affairs of ſtate whatever, as he valued the continuance of his majeſty's favour. This injunction was univerſally approved, and highly applauded, as a proof of his majeſty's great prudence. He ſent prince Eugene, by the way of Holland into England, in order to remove if poſſible the queen's diſpleaſure, and to recover her good opinion. But this embaſſy was zealouſly oppoſed by the earl of Strafford, who earneſtly diſſuaded the prince from undertaking it

The queen, in reſentment, turned the duke of Marlborough out of all his offices; and on his dutcheſs's account would fain have deprived him alſo of his honours and eſtate.

Her majeſty demanded of the dutcheſs, by the duke her huſband, the golden key, being the badge of the principal office about her majeſty's perſon. The dutcheſs vehemently refuſed it. The duke inſiſted, and laid his commands upon her to return it. That high-ſpirited lady, full of indignation, threw the key at her huſband, which he immediately carried to the queen, and her majeſty received it with far greater pleaſure than if it had been the richeſt ſpoil of an open enemy.

The dutcheſs of Marlborough was ſo highly affronted, that ſhe flew about the town in a rage, and with eyes and words full of vengeance, loudly complained how ill ſhe had been uſed. But the miniſtry, as well as the duke of Marlborough himſelf, in order to prevent the dutcheſs from giving her majeſty any farther provocation,

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found means to ſtop her mouth, leſt ſhe ſhould expoſe herſelf to greater ſufferings.

THOUGH this diſgrace and ruin of the Marlborough family was unexpected by many people in England, yet it was known at Rome, ſix months before; as likewiſe, that a promiſe and agreement was made with the French king, that the duke ſhould be deprived of the command of the army in Flanders. For, if the duke of Marlborough had been permitted any longer to carry on the war, and to command the army, the French king would not have been ſo eaſily induced to treat of a peace with the queen of England.

IN this critical juncture, myñheer Buys, envoy extraordinary from the ſtates-general to the queen of England, agreed with the earl of Oxford in many points: and as money bore a very high intereſt in England, he ſuppoſed it would be ſtill higher after a peace ſhould be concluded. He therefore was eaſily drawn into an agreement in opinion with the Engliſh miniſtry as to the peace, not conſidering the public good; and conſented to the time and place fixed by the queen's miniſters, to be notified to the allies for holding a congreſs. Buys was on this account loudly cenſured. For his inſtructions from the ſtates were, to return the queen their anſwer to thoſe things which the earl of Strafford had communicated to them concerning the terms of peace, which ſeemed to them to be indefinite, and dubiouſly expreſſed. They added alſo, "That they were much afraid, leſt the French ſhould "from thence take occaſion to throw in many delays to the conclu-"ſion of a peace, unleſs her majeſty could prevail with them to ex-"preſs themſelves plainly and diſtinctly before the congreſs." And the penſionary Buys was further inſtructed to inſinuate to the queen the ſuſpicions and fears of the ſtates-general relating to this matter; and laſtly, that they had no other end in their intimation, but the common ſafety; and were in good hopes that her majeſty, who had given ſo many eminent proofs of her ſteadineſs, that they could not ſuſpect her now to be wanting to the common cauſe of the confederates, would take care of all their intereſts. They alſo intreated the earl of Strafford, by all the regard which he profeſſed for them, to ſacrifice his

his own particular views to the public ſervice and the common ſafety.

THE ſuſpicions and anſwer of the ſtates were ſent to England: and they diſſuaded the earl of Strafford from any negociation of peace, till mynheer Buys had reported to them what ſucceſs he had with the queen.

AN account of theſe things was laid before the abbot Gualtier, the French king's agent; who was a Frenchman by birth, and a prieſt by religion, and had long ſculked in England, where he was confeſſor to the counteſs dowager of Jerſey: he was a trifling fellow, and of no reputation even among his own people: but, as if he had been made on purpoſe for thoſe times, he was now firſt brought upon the ſtage, to be as it were Mr. Prior's comrade and familiar correſpondent, that they might patch up a peace between them, in order to ſupport the ſinking ſtate of France.

THIS man having now laid aſide the character of a prieſt, and taken upon himſelf that of a ſtateſman, the queen's miniſters treated with him on the niceſt and moſt important points.

ON the 29th of October the Engliſh having informed him of the anſwers and ſuſpicions of the Dutch, he wrote clearly to the French king on that ſubject; adding other things about ſatisfying the ſcruples of the Dutch, and the demands of the duke of Savoy: the queen, ſays he, is very deſirous that this duke's territories in Italy ſhould be enlarged and improved.

THAT Gualtier might be enabled to return an anſwer to theſe things, the marquis de Torcy wrote back to him on the 18th of November, that the king thanked her majeſty for her ſingularly good diſpoſition towards him, and truſted her with his moſt intimate thoughts: that he would *bona fide* allow the Dutch a fair commerce, provided they, on their part, would *bona fide* conclude a peace. As to what relates to their frontiers, ſaid he, all the rights and juriſdiction of the Spaniſh Netherlands have been long ago transferred to the elector of Bavaria: to whom,

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if the Dutch will reſtore all the fortified places which they hold there, he promiſes alſo to give up to him ſome of his own; namely, Menin, Ypres, and Furnis: in return for which the king demands of the Dutch, Aire, Bethune, Doway, St. Venant, and Bouchain. The king is reſolved that Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed: and that the allies may give him ſome compenſation for that loſs, he demands the reſtitution of Liſle and Tournay: "Tournay," ſays he, "certainly belonged to France of ancient right, and therefore the king "is the more deſirous to have that town reſtored to him. It does not "concern the queen at all, whether that town be reſtored to the French "king, or given up to any other free prince: but if it be reſtored to "the king, France will acknowledge it as a favour from her majeſty." The French king added many other things alſo about a marriage between the elector of Bavaria's ſon and the emperor Joſeph's daughter, and giving up Bavaria to him, and continuing the elector himſelf in the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands; or at leaſt in poſſeſſion of the territories of Namur and Luxemburgh: and in this caſe, ſays he, the Dutch ſhall be allowed the benefit of commerce, according to the treaty of 1664, ſome few commodities only excepted; otherwiſe this advantage ſhall be allowed to the elector of Bavaria, according to the agreement in 1699. That in caſe the Spaniſh Netherlands come into the emperor's hands, then the king expects the kingdom of Naples to be yielded up to the elector of Bavaria, to make him amends for his loſſes in the war: but if the emperor will not agree to this, his majeſty ſays he will uſe his utmoſt endeavours that king Philip ſhall give up Sicily to him; from whence, ſays he, the Britiſh ſubjects may reap great benefits of commerce: farther, as to what ſhall be reſtored to the duke of Savoy, and the enlargement of his dominions, he ſays, the king has explained himſelf ſufficiently already. The king ſays that he will have nothing to do with him, either openly or ſecretly; but if the dutchy of Milan be allotted to him, his majeſty ſays he will in that caſe treat him as king of Lombardy: he demands that the towns of Exilles and Feneſtrelles, on the French frontiers, be reſtored to France; and he will in return reſtore to the duke the territories of Savoy, which will be ſufficient for him to ſecure his own frontiers: that he will acknowledge the electors of Brandenburgh and

Hanover; and the arch-duke alſo as emperor: and that he will reſtore Briſac to the German empire, and demoliſh Fort Kehl, and the other fortifications beyond the Rhine, provided that the electors of Bavaria and Cologne be reſtored to all their rights

ALL theſe conceſſions, for the ſake of peace, and out of regard to the queen of England, the king was pleaſed to make to her allies; which were firſt communicated to monſieur Gualtier: they were ſent over alſo to the earl of Strafford, with orders yet for ſome time to conceal them: but the queen's miniſters thought them a reaſonable foundation for the treaty of peace at Utrecht. Dr. Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, and now made lord keeper of the privy ſeal, was ſent into Holland as one of her majeſty's plenipotentiaries to treat of a peace: after he had held a conference with the penſionary Heinſius, he ſet out the next day for Utrecht. Treaty of Utrecht.

HE wrote over to the queen, complaining heavily of the affronts he had met with in Holland, by the hootings and jeerings of the children; which was not done ſo much out of ill deſign, as through their wonder at the novelty of his habit: her majeſty took theſe indignities very much to heart, and complained of the diſhonour done to her plenipotentiary and to the church.

ON the 20th day of November the queen ſent her circular letters to the miniſters of all the confederate princes, to notify to them that her majeſty and the ſtates-general had conſented to a congreſs, to be held at Utrecht on the 12th of January enſuing, 1712, for ſettling terms of peace; and exhorting them to ſend their plenipotentiaries thither at the time appointed, with full inſtructions for that purpoſe: ſhe alſo deſired the ſtates-general to ſend letters of ſafe conduct into France as ſoon as poſſible.

THIS was done without the emperor's conſent: and thereupon the marſhal d'Uxelles, the abbot de Polignac, monſieur Meſnager, and the abbot de Boſque, the French king's plenipotentiaries, began their journey, and on the 19th arrived at Utrecht, and were complimented

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by the biſhop of Briſtol and the earl of Strafford; as they alſo were the next day by the Dutch plenipotentiaries, meſſieurs Vanderduſſen, Buys, Renſwoade, Miremont, Goſlinga, Kniphuyſen, and Rechteren: the emperor's plenipotentiary was not yet arrived there; and thoſe of ſome other princes in Germany, through the influence of his example, forbore to be preſent at the conferences at Utrecht.

THE queen now deprived the duke of Marlborough of the command of the army in Flanders, and he ſuffered more marks of diſgrace than his enemies themſelves wiſhed for.

WHEN the parliament of Great Britain met, while conteſts were carried on in the houſe of commons about the payment of the debts of the nation, the reſtoration of public credit, the expences of the war, the eſtabliſhment of a trade to the South-ſeas, the building of churches, and other things, which had no relation to the conduct of the war; the peers were employed in debates about the royal prerogative, the right of making peace and war, and other important matters of government. They deſired the propoſals of peace, negociated with monſieur Meſnager, to be laid before them: and the whigs, in the houſe of commons, vehemently oppoſed the concluſion of a ſeparate and clandeſtine peace without the conſent of the allies: but the queen declared, "ſhe would treat of peace, notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe "who delighted in war and bloodſhed."

THE tories ſupported her in this reſolution contrarily to the conditions of the confederacy: and particularly the lord North and Grey ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the ſtrength of many ancient authorities, produced without any reaſon, that it was her majeſty's ſole right, and not within the juriſdiction of the houſe of peers, to judge of the expediency of making peace or war. The earl of Oxford, to obviate the objections of his adverſaries, and to gain upon thoſe who were wavering, denied that any treaty for peace was on foot: "We know," ſaid he, "the obligation of the confederacy; and there is nothing to be done, "in relation to a peace, without the conſent of the allies: for no- "thing can be more ſhameful or fooliſh, nothing more diſhonourable

"or

"or wicked, than to make a ſeparate peace:" which words the earl of Wharton ordered to be recorded in writing.

ABOUT this time the earl of Nottingham entered into meaſures with the earl of Sunderland, in order to ruin the diſſenters. Nottingham and his brother, the lord Guernſey, had merited highly of the tories in Dr. Sacheverell's caſe: but now, being diſappointed of all their hopes, they dexterouſly laid the foundation of their agreement with Sunderland, upon what would not leſſen their reputation among their old friends. A bill was brought into the houſe on the motion of the earl of Sunderland, to prevent occaſional conformity: this, it is ſaid, was the condition of their agreement with the whigs. The bill, by permiſſion of the whigs, paſſed the houſe of lords, without any oppoſition except from the old whigs, and was ſent down to the lower houſe; and there being read three times, according to the uſual form, it paſſed into a law: which gave occaſion to the earl of Nottingham and his brother to boaſt, that they did not go over to the whigs, but that the whigs came over to them.

Occaſional conformity bill paſſed.

MANY, both in the city and the country, raiſed great outcries about this act, and the treachery of the whigs towards them: the tories exclaimed, "Behold the cauſe for which the whigs have ſo induſtriouſly "contended, is given up at laſt by their own friends, and particu"larly by the earl of Sunderland: and now we ſhall ſee how they will "bear it."

THE earl of Nottingham and the lord Guernſey now endeavoured to draw over other peers to their party, in order to oppoſe the peace: ſome of the peers alſo ſeverely reflected upon the duke of Marlborough; affirming, that it was neither the love of his country, nor the ambition of command, but merely an inſatiable thirſt of riches, that made him a ſoldier.

MANY warm debates were now carried on in the houſes of both lords and commons, concerning peace and war: the whigs inſiſted peremptorily, that the conditions of peace ſhould not be approved of before

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before they were laid before the parliament: for this was the main point in controverſy at that time: and the earl of Nottingham ſpeaking at large on this ſubject, ſaid, "That though he had four-"teen children, he would ſubmit to live upon five hundred pounds a "year, rather than conſent to thoſe dark and unknown conditions of "peace."

THE earl of Oxford, who was well verſed in matters of parliament, having diſcovered the ſenſe of the houſe, as far as it was poſſible to gueſs at it, counted the numbers; perceiving that a great majority of the members was either averſe to this buſineſs of the peace, or doubtful, moved to adjourn the houſe for a week, under pretence of a religious obſervation of the holidays. This motion was warmly oppoſed by thoſe who were averſe to the terms of the peace: and they called out for the queſtion; ſuſpecting, what afterwards happened, the creation of twelve new peers. It was alſo oppoſed in the houſe of lords by the lords Cowper and Somers, the earl of Wharton, the lord viſcount Townſhend, and others, who vehemently argued againſt adjourning the houſe, before this queſtion now in debate, about approving the obſcure conditions of peace, ſhould be decided; which, as many inſiſted, could not be done according to the law of parliament. But the lord Guernſey, neither conſiſtent with himſelf, nor conſtant to his party, approved of the adjournment of the houſe, or, what was the ſame thing, of another queſtion tending to this, and of the terms of peace offered by the queen. This was very much reſented by the whigs: and indeed it was a matter of ſuch importance, that I do not know whether the creation of twelve peers was owing to the earl of Oxford more than to the lord Guernſey; or which of them was the moſt to be blamed for that unheard-of violation of the law of parliament: but that noble youth, the lord Fineh, was greatly troubled at this conduct of his uncle, the lord Guernſey.

DURING the preſent receſs of parliament, the earl of Nottingham and the lord Guernſey laboured every day to reconcile the peers to this extraordinary meaſure; but neither their entreaties nor authority was able to prevail with ſo much as one of that order.

WHILST

WHILST ſome adviſed an oppoſition to this unheard-of violation of the rights of the parliament by force, and others by law, thoſe noble brothers were not only averſe to any kind of oppoſition to her majeſty's will, but, to avoid all ſuſpicion thereof, they would not ſo much as be preſent at any conferences among the whigs.

THE caſe of this political party being now looked upon as deſperate, the lord Somers, ſeeing laws, cuſtoms, and rights overpowered, the national aſſemblies corrupted by rewards, and the multitude running headlong down the precipice after the faſcinating name of peace, in thoſe diſtracted times, declared, "He would rather now break the "violence of his adverſaries fury by letting it take its courſe, than "expoſe the common ſafety to domeſtic dangers by oppoſing it:" and to this opinion the duke of Marlborough and the lord Halifax readily ſubſcribed.

AFTER the holidays, the houſe of peers met again on the day appointed; and twelve new peers were introduced into the houſe in a troop, triumphing as it were over the groans of the nation. At the ſight of this new proof of the ruined rights of the peers, the tory-party was obſerved, by their mutual congratulations, to be highly elated; while all ſober men of the whig-party looked down upon the ground, as if they had been invited to the funeral of the peerage, and could not tell what to ſay. When the rights of the peers were thus violated, all things ſucceeded in parliament to the queen's wiſh; and the conditions of peace were approved juſt as her majeſty, not to ſay as the French king, pleaſed

Twelve new peers at once.

IN the mean time the earl of Oxford, who would fain have had the whole parliament at his own diſpoſal, met with an unexpected diſappointment. Her majeſty's patent had been granted to the duke of Hamilton, to create him a peer of Great Britain, as duke of Brandon: but the greateſt part of the peers, as well tories as whigs, reſolved that this privilege was prohibited to the peers of Scotland by the act of union, and therefore that the patent was invalid; and accordingly

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cordingly the houſe of peers, which is the higheſt court of judicature, declared and adjudged it.

THE duke of Hamilton, who had been always diſappointed both in his own affairs and thoſe of the public, inflamed now with reſentment againſt thoſe of his own party, agreed with the Scotch peers, that none of them ſhould come to the parliament till this hard caſe of the peers ſhould be redreſſed: but the earls of Marr and Kinnoul were ſo wavering and inconſtant to any thing but their own private intereſt, that they broke this agreement, and returned to the parliament: others followed their example: and as weak and fooliſh mortals are apt to reſign themſelves, and to run headlong into calamities which they dread, but which are nevertheleſs contingent and uncertain, ſo thoſe men, as if they had been worn out and vanquiſhed, voluntarily ſubmitted to an evil they might have avoided: and thus the rights of the peers of Scotland ſeem to have been ſurrendered and loſt through the treachery of Marr and Kinnoul, and the weakneſs of others of the Scotch nobility. The marquis of Annandale laid all this ſo much to heart, that in order to recover his health and ſpirits he went to travel abroad.

THOUGH the earl of Marr boaſted that their cauſe was ſafe, and that laying aſide their preſent reſentments, they ought to wait for a more convenient opportunity; yet this diſcourſe of his about preſerving peace, had other views than either the ſervice of his party, or the common cauſe of the Scots: for after the death of the duke of Queenſberry, it was his aim to be appointed her majeſty's third ſecretary of ſtate: but his promotion to that office was oppoſed by the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Iſla, who were each of them his competitors. In this emulation the earl of Oxford defended himſelf from all their importunity: who, during the vacancy of offices, was wont to feed many people with vain expectations. The parliament came now to a reſolution to approve of the conditions of peace, whatever they were, and blindly to congratulate the queen upon that event.

IN

In the houſe of commons the commiſſioners of public accounts, in order to find employment for the houſe, loaded many perſons unjuſtly with heavy cenſures. Mr. Robert Walpole, being ſuſpected of an odious crime, was ſuddenly ordered to the bar, expelled the houſe, and committed to the Tower. Walpole at this time, by his eloquence in the houſe, ſmartly defended the conduct of the war: the tories were therefore to excite an odium againſt him, if they would conclude a peace: but I will not take upon me to defend Mr. Walpole's cauſe; I would only aſk, why the houſe of commons committed him without any cauſe alleged for his commitment; nay, and without ſo much as a charge brought againſt him? And I would aſk again, why he was diſcharged from confinement when he had not made any defence, and when no reaſon was given for his enlargement? But, in thoſe times, nothing was more common than crimes without any accuſer, judgment without conſideration, and condemnation without either defence or puniſhment.

At this time dreams became the common topics of converſation, which were conſidered as ſo many prodigies: demons and ſpirits were ſeen in the country; and a bloody and barbarous gang of men, infamous for all kinds of cruelty and diſorder, called Mohocks, who did not appear by day-light, every where tormented children and old women, and the weaker ſort of the people, in the night: witches and hags, and other monſters, were ſeen flying in the air: all theſe fables were invented to divert the thoughts and eyes of men from a ſober and ſerious conſideration of the peace.

The tories caſt reflections upon the earl of Nottingham for his unſteadineſs, his moroſe temper, and difficulty of acceſs, as well as for his formal gait, his diſmal and long viſage, and even his unfaſhionable long pockets: but, on the other ſide, the whigs conſoled and cheered the earl: "What more ſolid praiſe and true honour," ſaid they, "could have been conferred upon you? What could you "deſire more, to render your name immortal, than to expoſe your re- "putation, your fortune, your hopes, and your life itſelf, to dangers "and reproaches, for the common ſafety? But enough of theſe re-

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"proaches, and of our domeſtic contentions: we have now ſeen "foreign nations ſhaken, and diſordered with the fury of this one "year."

In the mean time prince Eugene was preparing for his voyage into England: the earl of Oxford is ſaid to have thrown in the way of the prince ſome cauſes of delay, under pretence of ſtormy weather, and the refitting of ſhips. When the fleet arrived on the coaſt of Holland, the commanders there alſo affected many excuſes for delay: prince Eugene, impatient at the loſs of time, went on board; and after having ſurmounted the difficulties of contrary winds, and the more contrary inclination of the queen and her miniſters, in three days time landed in England.

On his arrival in London, he firſt paid his compliments to the queen, and then to her miniſters: after which he aſked leave to viſit the duke of Marlborough, and others who were out of her majeſty's favour. He was invited to entertainments by many of the principal men in England: as no foreigner had ever been more admired by the Engliſh nation in general, on account of his glorious exploits in war, ſo now he was received with loud acclamations: and when ſome of the tories, over their cups, would curſe him, leſt he ſhould be an obſtacle to the peace, another company, who congratulated his arrival, would oppoſe them, ſo that oftentimes they came to blows: but why ſhould I mention the banquets, the carrouſals, the exceſſes of the populace, and the madneſs of the city mob in this licentious time? Prince Eugene's nephew paſſing along the ſtreets, and raſhly encountering ſome of the mean and furious rabble, was ſo roughly handled by them, that he fell ſick and died.

Prince Eugene entering into a conference with the miniſtry upon the ſubject of the peace, diſſuaded them earneſtly againſt it: he endeavoured to perſuade them to carry on the war this one year more, and not to deſert the emperor now at laſt, on whom they had conferred ſo many obligations, and for whoſe intereſt they had expended ſo much of their treaſure: he ſhewed them that the confederates were freed

from their dangers, and that the prize was ready to fall into their hands; and promiſed them that the war ſhould now be carried on at a different proportion of expence than it hitherto had been.

Duke of Ormond commander in chief.

In the mean time the command of the army in Flanders was conferred on the duke of Ormond: prince Eugene declared that he, or whoſoever her majeſty thought fit, would be very acceptable to him, and paid his compliments to him on his promotion: the duke, on his part, gave the prince repeated aſſurances that he would diſcharge every part of his duty with honour; and ſaid, he did not believe that her majeſty had in the leaſt altered her reſolutions with regard to the French king, as would ſoon be made to appear by his progreſs in the war. The earl of Oxford alſo made the ſame declarations of honour and fidelity for himſelf, although he was in the mean time proceeding in the negociation for peace, and on that account entreated prince Eugene to incline, if poſſible, the emperor to pacific counſels, aſſuring him that both the queen and himſelf had been induced to take many meaſures againſt their will. The prince promiſed to comply with this requeſt, provided that the queen would carry on the war for this year: after this the parliament reſolved to raiſe ſupplies for the ſervice of the war; and prince Eugene taking his leave, returned into Holland. At his departure the duke of Marlborough expreſſed to him how deeply he was afflicted that his enemies had deprived him of her majeſty's favour, and procured his diſgrace: the prince, on this ſubject, expreſſed equal concern. He left the baron Hohendorf behind him in England, to make a collection of books for him, and to concert meaſures for carrying on the war: and the common people, who judge of ſome things according to truth, but of more according to general opinion, congratulated each other on the proſpect of peace.

When the congreſs was appointed at Utrecht for treating of peace, count Zinzendorf, plenipotentiary from the emperor, came to the Hague; here he had a conference with the penſionary Heinſius, in which he entreated him that the plenipotentiaries might not enter upon any treaty of peace, nor open the congreſs, till they ſhould firſt hear

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from prince Eugene what was to be expected from the queen of England, or what they were to do at Utrecht. Heinſius told him that what he requeſted was not in his power: Zinzendorf, therefore, avoiding to go to Utrecht, remained at the Hague; and the plenipotentiaries of the other princes of Germany followed his example.

On the 29th day of January 1712, a congreſs of all the plenipotentiaries was appointed to be held at Utrecht: but as very few of the plenipotentiaries had arrived, thoſe of France, England, and Holland, after mutual ſalutations, continued for ſome time ſilent in the hall, till the biſhop of Briſtol, who was willing to appear the principal perſon there, began a long ſpeech in this manner: "We are aſſembled "here together this day, my lords, in the name of Almighty God, in "order to lay the foundation of a laſting peace, after a long and bloody "war, between the high allies and the king your ſovereign: and as "we, on our part, bring the inſtructions of our reſpective ſovereigns, "ſo we come with a full purpoſe and ſincere diſpoſition to accompliſh "that neceſſary and pious work, &c. &c."

The marquis d'Uxelles, on the part of the French plenipotentiaries, briefly replied, "That they alſo were of the ſame diſpoſition, and that, "for his own part, he would exert his utmoſt endeavours to procure a "peace." But the abbot de Polignac, in a very florid and elaborate ſpeech, celebrated the praiſes of the work on which they had entered, and prayed that it might be brought to an happy concluſion. After this exordium, he expatiated at large on the glory of the king his maſter, and repreſented his inclination to peace, the ſincerity of his intentions, and the immortal honour of his great name.

The confederates, after theſe mutual declarations of pacific intentions, demanded of the French what propoſals they had to make? They anſwered that they were ready to produce them, as ſoon as the plenipotentiaries ſhould have arrived, and that they were ſuch as they doubted not would give entire ſatisfaction to all the confederates. But all theſe were words of courſe: for the propoſals with which they were charged at this time, were no other than thoſe which the queen had

had before communicated to the Dutch by the earl of Strafford; and which had been diſcovered by count Gallas, as already mentioned.

THIS whole negociation of peace was ſecretly carried on by letters and meſſengers between the French king and the queen of England: ſo that there was not, in reality, any other buſineſs done at Utrecht than entertainments, balls, aſſemblies, and vain conferences, as is very juſtly repreſented in a congratulatory poem, written by a clergyman, at that time the Biſhop of Briſtol's chaplain, and publiſhed in Holland. None of the confederates had liberty either to demand or to refuſe, or to interpoſe or offer any argument in defence of their own rights: thus the queen of England aſſumed the prerogative of acting, as if the whole world had been in her power, and at her diſpoſal.

THE French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht produced certain propoſals, which had been offered before: the Britiſh, in the queen's name, made ſome particular demands; and ſo alſo did thoſe of the other confederates, who had come to Utrecht ſince the return of prince Eugene from England. To theſe demands the French plenipotentiaries promiſed to return an anſwer on the 9th day of March: when that day came, both parties met in congreſs, but the French were not prepared to give the promiſed anſwer: they ſaid they would explain themſelves on the points in queſtion, as ſoon as they ſhould receive letters from the king their maſter: every eye looked with impatience for thoſe letters, but none arrived.

IN the mean time the biſhop of Briſtol, that he might not ſeem unmindful of the religious diſcharge of his function, preached a ſermon to the people on the feſtival of Eaſter, wherein he celebrated the praiſes of the holy work of peace-making, and concluded this ſervice with the ſacrament.

DURING all this time no letters came from France: but at length letters, that had been expected from France, were brought from England: in theſe the queen, aſſuming, as it were, a mediatorial character,

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racter, dictated to the allies the conceſſions they ought to make, and the points on which they ſhould inſiſt. Thus the ſilence which had been enjoined by the French king, ſhe now interrupted, to the diſhonour of her own name and nation, and the ruin of all her friends, except the duke of Savoy. The ſecretary, Mr. St. John, wrote, that her majeſty would both keep the ſecret, and maintain her own reſolutions reſpecting the peace, inviolate; and that he did not doubt but the parliament would juſt as readily approve of the peace, as they had formerly agreed to the war.

In thoſe unhappy times an accident, truly lamentable, happened to France, which interrupted all the public affairs of Europe, retarded the negociation for peace, and particularly diſappointed all the proſpects of the duke of Savoy, who had entertained hopes of obtaining, by means of this peace, the kingdom of Spain, in caſe king Philip ſhould not renounce all right to that of France.

Death of the dauphin of France.

The dauphineſs, who loved her father with extreme tenderneſs, diſplayed her filial affection by her exertions to promote the great end he had in view; and ſo alſo did the earl of Peterborough: but at this very time the dauphin himſelf, the dauphineſs, and the prince their ſon, the great and the darling hope of France, were all ſeized with the ſmall-pox, or purple fever, and died in the month of February, leaving behind them one only ſon, who recovered of his diſtemper.

As this melancholy event made it neceſſary to interrupt, for ſome time, the whole negociation of peace, ſo it was the occaſion of various reflections being caſt upon the duke of Orleans, for no other reaſon than that he was reckoned to have great ſkill in chemiſtry. His enemies charged him with the guilt of adminiſtering poiſon, and loaded him, on that account, with many calumnies: numberleſs injurious reports concerning the duke were circulated all over Paris; and he was treated with ignominy, under the notion of being a poiſoner. But he vindicated himſelf clearly from the horrid crime that had been falſely imputed to him, and ſhewed to the king, that there was not the leaſt cauſe why he ſhould be ſuſpected of it: yet the French miniſtry

miniſtry thought fit to have a watchful eye over him; and the king himſelf ſtrained him, as it were, ſo cloſe to his boſom, that he would ſcarcely ever ſuffer him to be out of his ſight. In order to comfort the French king under ſo great a loſs in the royal family, the duke of Berry, the other hope of France, married the beautiful daughter of the duke of Orleans. And as one loſs, following cloſe on the back of another, ſeemed to threaten the utter extinction of the blood royal of France, many ſchemes, and among others, ſome inconſiſtent with the disjunction of that kingdom from Spain, were projected for propagating the race of Lewis XIV. throughout all ages, and for rendering the honour of his great name immortal.

Intrigues of the jeſuits.

THE jeſuits, out of their ardent zeal for the king, diſplayed, in this matter, an extreme ſolicitude. Theſe men, who hold all the reſt of the popiſh orders in contempt, and look upon the learning, piety, and religion of others, and even upon all the principles of the moſt primitive antiquity, as nothing in compariſon with their own, had now, for a long time, enjoyed the advantage of being the king's confeſſors, and not only took upon them to direct his majeſty in the conduct of private life, but, preſuming alſo to intermeddle in matters of ſtate, graſped at the whole adminiſtration of government.

THE cardinal de Noailles, reſenting this intruſion, and weighing in his own mind how mighty an engine of good and evil to the kingdom was committed into the hands of the jeſuits, when they were ſuffered to exerciſe the power of confeſſing, and abſolving men from the penalties of divine judgment, by his archiepiſcopal authority, deprived that order of the power of confeſſion and abſolution within the bounds of his juriſdiction, and diſabled them from exerciſing it for the future.

OF this deprivation the jeſuits made loud complaints both to the king and to the pope; affirming, with their uſual effrontery, that this blow was not aimed againſt them only, but alſo againſt both the king and the church.

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Diſputes between the jeſuits, and the republic of Venice.

ALTHOUGH the republic of Venice entertained all due regard for their religion, yet their religious zeal was not ſo great as to encroach on the reſpect due to the civil authority. This they deemed it their duty to ſupport; and therefore they reſolved to find out what effects the doctrines and intrigues of the jeſuits had produced among their ſubjects. The occaſion of this inquiry was the inauguration-ſpeech of ſignior Lazarino, lately made at Padua, againſt the ſophiſts of this age. The jeſuits practiſed all their clandeſtine arts to prevent this ſpeech from being publiſhed. The ſuperintendants of the preſs at Padua, in conſequence of their interference, rejected it. Lazarino, in order to detract from the authority of theſe men, appealed to the ſenate. The ſenate referred the rejection complained of for examination to the council of Ten. This council, after inquiring into the matter in queſtion, reported to the ſenate, that the ſole cauſe of the rejection of Lazarino's ſpeech was the influence of all the great ladies to whom the jeſuits had long been, and ſtill were, confeſſors. The ſenate, therefore, thinking it high time to clip their wings, iſſued an order to the patriarch to deprive them of the greateſt part of their power in confeſſions, as ſoon as poſſible, and to keep a watchful eye over their conduct. And they themſelves reſtrained the women from all interference in the affairs of the republic.

THE jeſuits, inflamed with reſentment at being thus diſpoſſeſſed, as it were, of the empire of ſouls, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of revenge. In proſecution of this, they ſolicited the pope that the form of Chriſtian diſcipline, which had been formerly drawn up to their mind, might now be recognized and approved by his holineſs, and by his authority injoined to all nations.

THIS requeſt of the jeſuits met with a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition at Rome. Many of the cardinals and other biſhops diſſuaded the pope from complying with it. He gave them many fair promiſes. But the jeſuits were very preſſing in their ſolicitations. Theſe ſolicitations were warmly ſeconded by the French king; though in this matter he acted contrarily to the rights of the kingdom of France. The pope, wavering in his opinions and reſolutions, referred the matter in con-

troverſy to the ſacred college: in which, either the liberality of the French king, or the entreaties of the jeſuits prevailed with the creatures of the pope, to adviſe him to approve the form of Chriſtian diſcipline already mentioned.

AT length, his holineſs, overcome, as it were by force, and the entreaties of the French king, with tears in his eyes, approved the conſtitution *Unigenitus*, as it was called, which was afterwards the occaſion of many diſſentions in France.

Progreſs of the negociation for peace.

IN the pacification that was now on foot, the Engliſh miniſtry ſeemed to be very little concerned about any other object than to prevent a junction between the kingdoms of France and Spain. But they were unwilling to take Spain from king Philip, and to beſtow it on the emperor. The duke of Savoy, after the death of the dauphin, and the dauphineſs his daughter, exerted his utmoſt endeavours that the kingdom of Spain might by the peace be awarded to him. The French king was averſe to this: but the earl of Peterborough, wiſhing to ſoothe the duke of Savoy's grief by the conſolation of a kingdom, was zealous for it; and, ambitious of the honour of appointing a powerful monarch, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the duke's pretenſions.

BUT all his endeavours were abortive, as well as his dealings with the prince royal of Saxony, under the colour of keeping him ſteady to his religion, and his repreſentations and propoſals to the republic of Venice. Indeed many were of opinion that his journey into Italy was nothing elſe than a pretended embaſſy.

IN thoſe gloomy times, the duke of Argyle, returning from Spain, though not yet perfectly recovered of his tertian ague, came to Venice. There he was met by Mr. Alexander Cunningham, whom, on account of old acquaintance, the duke honoured with great friendſhip and familiarity for a whole week. They laid aſide all party-diſputes, and converſed at great length with perfect freedom. The duke of Argyle expreſſed his ſenſe of the dangers to which the intereſts of Great Britain,

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and the common ſafety of the confederates were expoſed; and declared his reſolution, as ſoon as he could poſſibly return to England, to oppoſe the miniſtry and the peace, and to join the whigs.

THE duke, on his arrival there, demanded and received the arrears of his pay.

THE French king's anſwer being brought to the plenipotentiaries on the part of the confederates at Utrecht, were received with indignation. Upon this, the earl of Strafford, writing to England, ſaid, he wiſhed the French would ſpeak out more clearly, and explain themſelves at large on the affair of Spain. To this the ſecretary, Mr. St. John, replied, that Mr. Thomas Harley would ſoon be with them in Holland, who would give all of them perfect ſatisfaction. But what that ſatisfaction was, nobody yet knows, unleſs it was that he had prepared the parliament to approve the peace.

THIS anſwer, the French king, in his letters, highly commended; and at the ſame time beſtowed the greateſt applauſe on the diligence of the miniſtry in reſtraining the madneſs of domeſtic faction. Such were the French king's explanations concerning the Spaniſh government, which had been required by the earl of Strafford. The plenipotentiaries, on the part of the confederates, demanded again and again, that the French ſhould reduce their anſwer to his requeſt in writing. The French, with many apologies, declined this, and ſaid, there was no need of it. The confederates ſtill urged their demand; and the ſtates-general reſolved, that unleſs they would give their anſwer in writing, they would immediately break off the treaty.

THE earl of Strafford wrote to Mr. ſecretary St. John, on the 5th of April, an account of what was done at the Hague. The ſecretary ſaid, that the reſolution of the Dutch was the laſt and vain effort of a broken faction: for Mr. St. John, in ſpeaking of the allies, adopted the language that had been uſed by the French king in his letters concerning the Britons. But the French peremptorily refuſed to anſwer in writing; and ſo the treaty at Utrecht was at a ſtand. Nor

was there now any reaſon why they ſhould make haſte in that treaty before the opening of another campaign. Immediately after the oppoſite armies had taken the field, the demands of the confederates, and the ſatisfaction offered by the French king, were referred to the queen of Great Britain. By the marquis de Torcy's letter, all France and Spain ſeemed to be committed to her majeſty's diſpoſal. The marquis declared, that the king deſired nothing more than that ſhe would put the laſt hand to the negociation of peace: that king Philip would either quit Spain, or renounce all right of ſucceſſion to the crown of France, and transfer that kingdom to the duke of Savoy: and laſtly, that he would refer all matters in diſpute to her majeſty's determination, provided that ſhe would agree to a ceſſation of arms.

The queen demanded for herſelf only certain places in remote parts, beſides Port-Mahon and Gibraltar, for the protection of fiſheries and commerce; Dunkirk to be garriſoned by her forces; and Spain, with the Weſt Indies, to be aſſigned to the duke of Savoy.

It was a general ſubject of wonder, that the queen ſhould be ſo much intereſted in the fortune of the duke of Savoy, who was accounted the leaſt conſiderable of all her allies. But he was related by marriage to her majeſty, and the next in blood to the Pretender. The queen, therefore, in order to ſecure the right of ſucceſſion to the Pretender and to him, was very deſirous that the Spaniſh dominions ſhould come under the ſway of the duke of Savoy, to the end, as many believed, that what could not be brought about in Great Britain by good will, the parliament might one day be conſtrained to do through neceſſity.

In this whole negociation, the intereſts of the Pretender and the duke of Savoy were intruſted to the care of the abbot Gualtier; who was alſo charged with a commiſſion to procure, by the pacification on foot, certain territories for the princeſs Urſina. The French king, indeed, gave himſelf very little concern about theſe matters; but he declared, that if they were agreeable to her majeſty, he would keep them both in his eye and in his heart.

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THE duke of Savoy's miniſters at Utrecht uſed all the means in their power both there, and at other places, to bring over different Engliſhmen, only in private ſtations, to their ſentiments concerning the right of ſucceſſion in England; but the French king ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this duke's advancement to royal dignity in all places. "What have "I to do with that man, he would exclaim; or what can he expect "of me." If king Philip had been forced to give up Spain, the French monarch, rather than that the Spaniſh crown ſhould devolve to the duke of Savoy, would have contributed his endeavours to tranſfer it to the king of Portugal.

BUT the queen continued peremptorily to urge the intereſts of the duke of Savoy. The ſecretary Mr. St. John, in a letter to the marquis de Torcy, ſaid, "Then we have nothing to do. The queen "entered into a treaty in order to bring about a peace, and to ſettle "all differences upon this foundation, that king Philip ſhould either "immediately quit the kingdom of Spain, or overcome all right of "ſucceſſion to that of France. I have nothing more to add, having "returned anſwers to all your letters the day before yeſterday."

THE marquis de Torcy, leſt her majeſty's demands in behalf of the duke of Savoy, or any other vain words, ſhould retard the main buſineſs of the peace, and prevent the great advantages that would thereby accrue to France, wrote again to the ſecretary St. John to this effect: "It is the king's pleaſure, that none of theſe things ſhall "be any impediment to the peace, but that the whole matter be re"ferred to the queen. The only thing on which he inſiſts, and that "in a very earneſt manner, is, a truce; and that there may be an "end of bloodſhed." But the Engliſh miniſters did not perceive that this whole tranſaction was ſet on foot only to avert the preſent danger, and on account of the great dearth under which the whole kingdom of France, at that time, laboured. The French have never, to this day, propoſed any conditions for a permanent peace.

IN thoſe difficult times, as the miniſtry were ſolicitous, ſo the people were full of the hopes of a peace. And many who were againſt the terms

terms of peace that were propoſed, were either treated with extreme inſolence, or harraſſed with proſecutions at law. But, at that time, it fortunately happened, that through the equity of the laws, and the humanity of the judges, Dormer and Eyre, who proceeded with great moderation and clemency, very few ſuffered any legal puniſhment. The lord chief juſtice Trevor was found to be rather ſevere againſt thoſe who were averſe to the peace, although he was otherwiſe a learned and good man. But, of all the judges, none was found ſo cruel in the adminiſtration of the law, at that time, as Sir Conſtantine Phipps in Ireland; of whom there were many complaints. Theſe being laid before the privy council of England, were there rejected; from which the Iriſh papiſts conceived great hopes.

Many reflections, in common diſcourſe, were caſt upon the Revolution, the actions of king William, and the laws enacted in his reign. The people inveighed ſeverely againſt the Dutch, affirming, that we had great reaſon to be jealous of their great trade and riches; that they were poſſeſſed of a ſpirit of domination; and that they wanted to deprive thoſe of their kingdom to whom they owed the very exiſtence of their own republic. Sir James Wiſhart, who was ſent into Holland to take a view of the ſtate of naval affairs there, made ſuch reports at his return, as ſet the parliament in a flame againſt the Dutch. Did we, it was ſaid, raiſe money to ſecure our kingdom and our commerce? or, that our wealth ſhould be ſquandered and laviſhed away upon foreigners? How long is it intended to protract the war; and what bounds do they propoſe to ſet to their ambition? nor was the earl of Oxford himſelf now able to reſtrain the fury of his faction: ſo that there was no ſafety in the ſtreets of London, nor any freedom of debate in parliament, by reaſon of the immoderate deſire which ſo generally prevailed of peace.

The whigs, who were deſirous of continuing the war, durſt not ſtir, except in pamphlets and books. In theſe they enumerated the injuries done to us by the French, and argued againſt the concluſion of any peace that ſhould be unſafe and diſhonourable, or made without the conſent of the allies. "What!" ſaid they, "would the miniſtry,

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" niſtry, according to what has long been ſaid of this nation, have " us to loſe by peace what we have gained by war?". In ſhort, ſuch was the heat and obſtinacy of both parties in parliament, that the French would not explain themſelves, as already mentioned, on the conditions of peace, to the allies at Utrecht. Neither did the plenipotentiaries receive much conſolation from the arrival, at that place, of Mr. Thomas Harley: and therefore, the negociation which had held the confederates in ſuſpenſe and anxiety many months, terminated at laſt in nothing.

THE French king demanded for himſelf Liſle and Tournay, with their citadels and territories, and other terms which the confederates thought much harder than thoſe which he had propoſed ſome time before.

THE king of Spain was alſo adviſed, about the ſame time, to ſend an agent into England to ſettle matters between the Spaniards and the Engliſh reſpecting commerce. For this purpoſe, king Philip diſpatched to London Sir Patrick Lawleſs, an Iriſhman. Lawleſs, who was devoted to king James's party was very unacceptable to many people, who, therefore, in their common converſation, did not ſpare either the queen herſelf, or the Spaniſh monarch.

GREAT debates aroſe at Utrecht on the ſubject of the duke of Savoy's expreſſes coming directly through France, and thoſe of the king of Portugal through Spain. The French king, well pleaſed to ſee theſe diviſions among the allies, left the queen of England to compoſe their differences at her diſcretion.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK XV.

Diſtreſs of France.——Magnanimity and Moderation of the Earl of Oxford.——Inſolent Reproaches caſt on the Duke of Marlborough.——Queſtion concerning King William's Grants revived.——Religious Controverſies.——Jeſuits deſcribed.——Negociations for Peace.——Duke of Ormond's Campaign in 1712.——Queſnoy beſieged,——and taken.——The Confederate Armies divide.——Battle of Denain.——Siege of Landrecy raiſed.——Doway, &c. retaken.——Peace ſigned at Utrecht.——Landau retaken by the French;——and Friburgh.——Conference at Raſtadt.——Treaty at Baden.——Siege of Barcelona.——Queen Anne's Death.——George proclaimed King.——Lands in England.

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THE longer and the more proſperous ſtate of health and conſtitution men or nations have enjoyed, the more dangerous are the diſtempers to which they are expoſed.

Diſtreſs of France.

THROUGHOUT the whole kingdom of France, in 1711 and 1712, ſo low was the ſtate of public credit, and ſo great the ſcarcity of corn, and all ſorts of proviſions, that it was found impoſſible to recruit the armies, or to raiſe pay for the ſoldiers. Neither were there any granaries or magazines for the troops on the frontiers; nor had any payment been made of the public debts at Paris for the four laſt years.

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UNDER all theſe ſtraits, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould be tempted to deſert, the king, who regarded his own ſafety above all other objects, ordered what remained in the granaries to be carried to the frontiers for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. In the mean time, the intendants of the provinces and other magiſtrates, made uſe of their utmoſt endeavours, to procure a ſupply of corn from foreign countries, to preſerve the lives of the people who were periſhing of want. Though the ſtorekeepers diſtributed this every day ſparingly, and with great frugality, for fear of tumults, yet, at the time when the Engliſh ſtore-ſhips firſt arrived in France, the ſcarcity had grown to ſuch a height, that the French monarchy could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted longer by any frugality whatſoever. Nay, the people were preparing to make a voluntary ſurrender of themſelves to the enemy; and thoſe who were averſe to tumults wiſhed of all things for the coming of the confederates.

THE Engliſh miniſters, at that time, not only gave leave to the merchants to ſail into France, but diſpatched ſecret orders to Sir John Leake, admiral of the fleet in the Mediterranean, to permit French ſhips laden with corn from the port of Alexandria, and other ports of Africa, to paſs into France unmoleſted; and not to be ſo watchful for the French corn ſhips, or to intercept their merchantmen; Sir John Leake obeyed his orders, and accordingly diſmiſſed the French ſhips that had fallen into his hands. The French merchant ſhips were alſo furniſhed with paſſes from England, while both the French men of war and privateers fell upon thoſe of the Engliſh, and made prizes of all they could take.

THESE things were complained of in England, but without redreſs: for the queen ſeemed to become more favourable to the French than the Britons. But a certain perſon being aſked, how a free people could ſubmit to ſuch uſage? made this anſwer: "That many things "might be borne with at the hands of women, to which it would be "a diſgrace to ſubmit if they were attempted by men; and that an "open reſiſtance to government was juſtifiable only in thoſe deſperate "caſes that threatened the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the ruin

"of

" of the kingdom." Nay, ſo inſolent were the French grown, that even ſome private perſons now demanded reſtitution of their ſhips which had been long before taken by the Britons in open war; and to that end, the French merchants deputed Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, a Scotchman, who had for many years followed the profeſſion of a merchant in France, to come over in their behalf into England, depending upon his intereſt with the queen.

At this time inſinuations and reports were ſpread abroad, that the earl of Oxford was very much influenced in his conduct by the paſſion of avarice. Theſe calumnies took their riſe from the forwardneſs of the court to make peace with France, and from the circumſtance of the marriage of Oxford's ſon. Avarice was a vice which the lord treaſurer held in the utmoſt contempt and abhorrence.

When the parliament of Great Britain had raiſed money to the amount of ſix millions ſix hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-ſeven pounds, great part of which was raiſed by lotteries, very heavy cenſures paſſed upon many good men, and Mr. Robert Walpole, as the chief adverſary of peace, was committed to the Tower of London.

The duke of Marlborough was charged with an odious crime, on account of the bread and pay of the foreign troops, which he was ſaid to have diminiſhed, and converted to his own uſe. But the duke, in his own defence, not only alledged the example of other generals, but alſo the queen's warrant for it; and inſiſted, that the ſoldiers were punctually paid according to their contract: but all his pleas, though founded on the conſent of the ſoldiers, the practice of former times, the queen's own authority, and right reaſon, were nevertheleſs over-ruled in the parliament. Some were for calling him to account for it; others ſaid, that he ought to refund all that he had defrauded them of. But as the duke of Ormond was allowed the ſame indulgence with the exerciſe of which the other was accuſed, the queen's party in the parliament thought fit to drop their cenſures, and to leave him to the ordinary proceſs of the law. As the earl of Oxford was

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believed to favour the duke of Marlborough underhand, the duke of Argyle and Mr. Secretary St. John, out of anger and hatred, loaded the earl with injurious reproaches: and though they differed between themſelves in party-matters, they now united through envy, and began to conſpire againſt the treaſurer. But Oxford, who was a man of a great ſoul, and firm in his reſolutions, finding that he could not ſatisfy all their deſires, oppoſed them openly, and would not ſuffer himſelf to be moved by their threats, well knowing that their union would not be laſting. Of many things in the conduct of their adherents he took no notice, but bore them with great patience. And if the whigs had been of ſuch a temper as they ought, and had agreed among themſelves, at this time, they might have had very fair terms of peace with France, and reconciliation with the earl of Oxford: in which caſe, perhaps, all that had been done amiſs hitherto, with reſpect to the public adminiſtration, might have been corrected. And it is ſaid, that the lords Somers and Halifax were not wanting on their part to that end: nor was the lord treaſurer a man of ſuch a diſpoſition as to prefer either the gratification of revenge, or the purſuit of his own intereſt, or private views, before the public ſervice. At this time, therefore, when he could neither reclaim his own party from their furious courſes, nor reconcile the whigs to his meaſures, he diſpatched Mr. Thomas Harley to the elector of Hanover. Harley made a long ſtay in Holland; and when he arrived at length at Hanover in the month of July, it is ſaid, that, either through his own want of experience, or through the artifices of others, he had but little ſucceſs in his patron's affairs. He was blamed alſo for many things during his ſtay in Holland, and for the preſents made to ambaſſadors; but this with the leſs juſtice, that every man is not able at all times to follow his own inclinations.

Magnanimity and moderation of the earl of Oxford.

The earl of Strafford left Utrecht in order to come into England. On his arrival here, he reflected with great inſolence againſt the duke of Marlborough in the houſe of peers. The earl of Pawlet alſo and the earl of Orrery caſt very ſevere reproaches upon him and the moſt flouriſhing times of England, without any regard to the dignity of the houſe. For the more bitter invectives any one uſed, the more highly

Inſolent reproaches caſt on the duke of Marlborough.

highly he was applauded by his party in the lobby, and about the doors of the parliament-houſe, as if the freedom of parliament had given a right to railers to uſe what freedom they pleaſed in reflecting upon others.

Queſtion concerning king William's grants revived.

At this time alſo the queſtion was revived in parliament about a reſumption of the grants and donations of king William: a meaſure which was oppoſed by the duke of Argyle, chiefly on account of his own intereſt, unleſs thoſe of king Charles and king James might be alſo reſumed by the ſame law. This queſtion gave occaſion to many debates in the parliament, and much diſputing about the royal prerogative. At laſt, when it appeared by the ſpeeches of many of the members, that there was a general zeal throughout the kingdom for the reſtoration of the Pretender, the queſtion was put, and the act of reſumption was thrown out only by one vote. The earl of Strafford, whoſe own intereſt was moſt at heart, having been a partaker of king William's bounty, oppoſed this bill very ſtrenuouſly.

The highlanders of Scotland were now armed, which gave occaſion to loud complaints in parliament, as well as the pay which was aſſigned to them.

In the convocation of the Engliſh clergy, many grievous complaints were made of the wickedneſs of thoſe times, and of the irreligious notions of God, which many men had now entertained and propagated both in the city and country. Theſe things were favourably heard by the people, who were not more irreligious now than at other times; and eſpecially in the queen's own reign, who declared ſhe had concealed many things, even in the clergy, on account of the war.

At length the clergy began to open their grievances in the convocation, and complained, that the church was now denied her divine right; that the real preſence, of they knew not what, in the ſacrament of the euchariſt, was degraded; that the hierarchy was fallen, and the ſucceſſion of biſhops derived from St. Peter, and handed down, as it were, by him to us, controverted. Theſe things were loudly complained of, as acts of great impiety,

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among which alſo were numbered the ſuppreſſion of auricular confeſſion, and the alienation of the lands and revenues, and other rights of the church, which they would have reſtored for the maintenance of the clergy. All which things, if this be their piety, are either prohibited by law, or, within our own or our father's times, have been diſuſed, as diſhonourable to the Chriſtian name, and dangerous to our government.

Dr. Atterbury took great pains alſo at this time, underhand, that the church ſhould impoſe on the people ſuch doctrines as he liked. To this it was anſwered, that the church ought nevertheleſs to take heed, leſt by her injunctions ſhe ſhould do hurt to the people, to whom there lies an appeal, as well as to the ſtates of the realm.

In ſome of the churches there were alſo pictures introduced of ſome ſaints, and others in others; and thoſe which had been formerly cloathed were now naked: altars were alſo adorned after the popiſh manner; and the moſt pompous decorations were made for the ſaints, all which things gave great offence to all ſerious men.

Religious controverſies.

The old controverted opinions about the Trinity were now revived, and Dr. Samuel Clarke, a man of great virtue as well as learning, was cruelly treated by ſome of his own order, becauſe he would have had this doctrine explained only according to the ſenſe and expreſſions of the inſpired writers, and entertained doubts concerning the authenticity of the following words in the evangeliſt John: "There are "three that bear record in heaven, and theſe three are one." The former of theſe, they ſaid, was to explain away a ſacred myſtery; and the latter, to take away from the divine oracles: but it is ſtrange that theſe words are not now extant in any Greek manuſcript. Mr. Whiſton, profeſſor of mathematics at Cambridge, on account of theſe, and ſuch like doctrines, was expelled out of that univerſity.

Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, a man of piety, and a moſt elegant defender of the laws, was very heavily cenſured by thoſe who take pleaſure in innovations, and in the power of the clergy, and endeavour to perſuade

perſuade us that all religion conſiſts in certain poſitive rites and ceremonies. This is the party, as I have already mentioned, in England, who are deſirous of being united with the Gallican church: and this party is favoured by the Jeſuits, who have now great influence over the French king, after whoſe example other kings and princes not only make uſe of their intereſt and aſſiſtance in their confeſſions, but are even directed by them in their counſels.

Jeſuits deſcribed.

For no man can poſſibly be more accommodating or more ſocial than this order; none more pious among the good; more froward among the paſſionate; or more vicious among the wicked and abandoned. In plundering, who more rapacious? In preſents, who ſo profuſe? who more patient, who more courteous than they on ſome occaſions? and who more prone to anger and revenge on others? Nay, what ſociety of men, ſince the world began, has been more inhumanly cruel, or whoſe conduct has in ſo many inſtances betrayed the abominable principles of a Nero?

They have colleges every where for the purpoſe of learning how to avail themſelves of local manners and cuſtoms; where they teach boys, and other ſtudents in their ſchools, to improve themſelves in the arts and ſubtleties of the ſophiſts. Though theſe fathers often appear to be of different parties, yet they are all of them in reality governed by the common councils of their provincial, and the authority of a principal, who is called their general.

The general of the Jeſuits always reſides at Rome: he has intelligence of all the counſels and deſigns of all princes in the ſeveral parts of the world, which he reports to the pope, and governs them all, as it were, with one mind, though by different principles: for however they may apparently differ among themſelves in manners, opinions, and views, the rules of the ſociety are always the ſame, and moſt ſtrictly obſerved. In princes courts, and other places, where they themſelves have not any footing, they have their creatures and pupils; perſons diſtinguiſhed by their talents, their addreſs, and the attractions of their demeanor and preſence: theſe, as well as ſuch beautiful women

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men as are the favourites of princes, they load with their preſents, and protect by their intereſt: even in the field they either follow the camp themſelves, or elſe have ſome poor prieſts there ſupported by their pay.

THIS order of men the people of Marſeilles, and of Lucca, have at all times prohibited from entering their cities. The Venetians alſo baniſhed them, on account of their unjuſtifiable and miſchievous attempts, within the memory of our fathers. They were alſo expelled out of Muſcovy; as alſo out of France, on account of the murder of the king: and the Engliſh nation have not forgot the gunpowder treaſon, nor the Iriſh maſſacre, nor the oppreſſive government of the ſecond James, who was inveigled by thoſe men, and deceived by them to his own ruin. What miſchiefs they are now hatching in China, and what violence they have lately done even to a cardinal, the pope's legate, and other men, I leave the papiſts themſelves to relate. The Jeſuits at this time perſuaded the French king, who was not a man of learning, to believe that they were the only learned men of all the religious orders, and the moſt devoted to his majeſty. All this was confirmed to the king by the jeſuit father Tellier, his confeſſor, a man of equal courage and inſolence. And, under the ſpecious pretext of a new ſyſtem of doctrine procured from the pope, the jeſuits treacherouſly conſpired to confound the principles of all the other orders, and to ruin all their fortunes.

THIS deſign was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Benedictines, the Dominicans, and all the other religious orders who were well eſtabliſhed. And theſe were ſupported by the parliament of Paris, and the doctors of the Sorbonne, ſo renowned for their learning, with the cardinal de Noiailles, a man of great reſolution, as it were, at their head. All theſe, as well as the cardinal D'Eſtrees, and Polignac afterwards, endeavoured in vain to diſſuade the king from hearkening in the leaſt to the counſels of the jeſuits, in times ſo full of trouble, and while even the ſucceſſion of the crown was doubtful. Hence aroſe fierce diſſentions and party-debates. Father Queſnelli's Verſion of the Holy Scriptures into the Vulgar Tongue was condemned; Monſ. Dupin

Dupin was baniſhed into an iſland; and other cenſures were paſſed upon others. The king alſo declared, that he would, by the force of arms, compel, if he could not otherwiſe prevail with the parliament of Paris to ratify his edicts, and to obey his commands.

THERE were ſome alſo in England who favoured the French king's edicts, and aſſerted the right of king Philip, which he was now to renounce; inſiſting that the renunciation could neither injure king Philip, nor avail the duke of Orleans. And indeed it is obvious to all, that ſuch deeds as are done only in compliance with the revolutions of the times, are no longer deemed valid than the parties have inclination and ability to break them

ABOUT this time, ſome new cardinals were created at Rome. And that learned and good man ſignior Bianchini came into England.

Negociation for peace.

AFTER long debates among the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, thoſe of the allies delivered their ſeveral demands to the French, on the 5th day of November 1712, reſpectively ſubſcribed by the reſpective plenipotentiaries. As theſe were not yet adjuſted by the common conſent of the confederates, it was an eaſy matter for the French afterwards to diſunite their affections.

AFTER an interval of ſeveral days the French excuſed themſelves, that they had not yet ſent their demands to the king for want of proper paſſports. Theſe were immediately provided; and the marſhal D'Uxelles ſaid, that he could not bring them the king's anſwer before the laſt day of March 1713, which the plenipotentiaries thought a long time

WHEN the French king's letter came to the marſhal D'Uxelles, he came to the congreſs, and told the plenipotentiaries, that the king his maſter was ready to treat of peace with them in the manner uſually obſerved in former treaties; which was all he had now to ſay. Upon this, count Zinzendorf ſaid, in a paſſion, that he expected by this time to have had from the French plenipotentiaries ſome other an-

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ſwer: however, ſuch as it was, he deſired to have it in writing. To this demand D'Uxelles, within a few days, agreed, and gave him in writing what he had received in charge from France.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacted at Utrecht, the emperor ſent twenty thouſand men into Flanders: and the Dutch uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevail with the queen to continue the war but for this year. In England great complaints were now made, that the Dutch had not contributed their proportion towards carrying on the war, either in Spain or Portugal. The Dutch denied this; and in a publication, in which they ſtated the caſe in queſtion on both ſides, ſhewed, that they had not only carried on the war in proportion to their ability, but even beyond their ability, and had taken upon them to ſupply the deficiencies of others; and that they would not take any ſteps towards a peace, without the conſent of their allies, according to their conſtant and invariable declarations to the French king.

THIS was highly reſented in the Britiſh parliament, and the letter of the ſtates-general was called a libel. Amidſt all theſe miſunderſtandings and diſturbances, the minds of men were generally held in ſuſpenſe, waiting with anxiety to ſee how the ſtorm would end. The queen now, according to all appearance, more tractable and gentle than ſhe had been for ſome time heretofore, made many promiſes to her allies; but her miniſters, meanwhile, were treating in private with the French king about a truce, and matters of commerce, at which the allies were highly offended.

ABOUT this time Mr. Thomas Harley and the abbot Gualtier arrived in Holland. All men were eager to know what portion they had brought along with them of the promiſed comfort, of which I have already made mention. Nor were the Britiſh plenipotentiaries very conſiſtent with themſelves, who had boaſted that Mr. Harley was to bring the queen's laſt reſolutions, and every thing that was neceſſary for healing the wounds of the republic, and eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity.

MR.

MR. HARLEY brought over indeed ſome few conceſſions of certain fortified places, in which the Dutch at that time had their own garriſons, and ſome other things relating to commerce, which they had before rejected. All this the ſtates-general looked upon as a proof that the queen's miniſters, at that time, conſulted their own private intereſt; and thenceforth Mr. Harley kept a conſtant correſpondence with the abbot de Boſque. In the mean time a clamour was raiſed that the Dutch, who had been tardy in the war, now deſpiſed the queen's peace: but they who made this clamour, neither explained the terms of that peace, nor yet the queen's ſecret intentions.

MANY letters now paſſed backwards and forwards between the marquis de Torcy and the ſecretary St. John, about king Philip's abdication and renunciation of all right to the crown of France. At laſt the marquis de Torcy returned a clear anſwer to Mr. ſecretary St. John's demands on the 28th day of March N. S. "That any renunciation of the kingdom and ſovereign right, whether made or "to be made, is plainly null and invalid according to the laws of "the crown of France. This is a thing univerſally known, and confirmed by the examples of former times. When the king dies, "the next of the blood royal ſucceeds him on the throne as his heir "of courſe; which he does not hold of the former king, nor of the "people, nor of his own will, but by the right of blood, as ſovereign "lord of the kingdom. The French have always held it as a maxim, "that theſe laws cannot be aboliſhed but by God alone; and that "what is derived and deſcends from the law of nature, cannot be "over-ruled either by any edict, or abdication, or by renunciation. "Though the king of Spain ſhould, for the ſake of peace, give up "his right in France, they are greatly miſtaken who imagine that "ſuch a ceſſion would be valid, or ſtand them in any ſtead."

BUT though the marquis de Torcy expreſsly declared all this, and that no abdication of the kingdom would be of any ſignification, yet Mr. ſecretary St. John ſaid, it muſt of neceſſity be done, and therefore inſiſted on it, in his letter of 23d March O. S. "It matters "not much to us," ſays he, "what opinion is entertained in France

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" as to the right of ſucceſſion, ſo long as we in Britain believe, that " any one may give up his own right, and that the ſureties of that " ceſſion may maintain the validity of it by the force of arms. In " ſhort, it is her majeſty's reſolution to have it done, if there be any " farther progreſs in the negociation for peace."

AFTER de Torcy had thus declared his opinion of the laws, and freely diſcovered his real ſentiments of the affair, he began to entertain the project of ceding Spain to the king of Portugal, and a marriage to be concluded between him and the emperor's niece, and then made this propoſal: " As ſoon as ever king Philip ſhall be- " come intitled to the crown, he ſhall then be at liberty to chuſe " which of the two kingdoms he pleaſes."

THIS was oppoſed by Mr. St. John, who ſaid, " King Philip muſt " make his choice which kingdom he will take: and this muſt be " done now, immediately, before there can be any ceſſation of arms."

THE marquis de Torcy replied, " Our main buſineſs in this nice " juncture is to have the affair of Spain adjuſted." And in his letter of the 26th of April he pretends, that, as the French king, for the ſake of the public tranquillity, would depart from ſome of his own right, ſo it was neceſſary that king Philip ſhould alſo depart from ſome of his. He acquainted him alſo, that the king his maſter agreed, and highly approved of his opinion; and had diſpatched an expreſs into Spain, to know king Philip's ſentiments and reſolution; and that if king Philip would not do this of his own accord, the French king would by force of arms compel him to do it. In the mean time, he propoſed a truce to Mr. St. John, leſt thoſe who were averſe to peace ſhould break up the congreſs. " For," ſaid he, " the enemies of " peace, who delight in blood, place their whole hopes in the " ſucceſs of the war. But, if the Engliſh do not approve of this, " do you propoſe other conditions, and let the queen herſelf preſcribe " her own terms."

ON the other ſide, Mr. ſecretary St. John objected, that if a truce ſhould be agreed on, and yet king Philip ſhould not do what was expected,

pected, what are we then to do, or what ſecurity is there for the time to come? Thus hurrying on, and puſhed forward, as it were, with a falſe joy, he made this one propoſal, "In caſe king Philip will not "renounce all right to France, let him forthwith quit Spain; then "let the duke of Savoy have the kingdom of Spain; let his domi- "nions and the dutchy of Mantua be made over to king Philip and "his poſterity, and Sicily return to the houſe of Auſtria."

On the 18th of May, the marquis de Torcy anſwered him at large on the ſubject of king Philip's renunciation, and pretended to agree with him in opinion. He wrote alſo, that "the king his maſter had "ſent king Philip to make his option immediately, either to give up "the kingdom of Spain to the duke of Savoy, or to renounce all his "own right to that of France." And at the cloſe of his letter, he adds, of what ill conſequence it might be in caſe any diſaſter ſhould happen in the field. For the marquis de Torcy was moſt of all concerned, leſt the French king's army, now greatly weakened, and unprovided of all things, ſhould be ſuddenly attacked and defeated. But Mr. ſecretary St. John had provided againſt that contingency; for, on the receipt of de Torcy's letter, he wrote to the duke of Ormond, on the 24th day of May, that it was her majeſty's command that he ſhould not undertake any ſiege, or attempt a battle, without her further orders; deſiring him withal to keep this a ſecret.

Every man who has ſeen theſe things, and taſted of their bitter effects, may perceive how carefully the marquis de Torcy had watched and conſidered all motions; and how ſkilfully he had ſteered to eſcape the ſtorm, and to bring France ſafe out of all danger. No terms of peace were yet concluded, nor had the plenipotentiaries entered into any particular treaty for the ſecurity of any of the parties, or for the ſettling of commerce; and yet there was a ceſſation of arms. The duke of Ormond arrived at the Hague in the month of April, with full inſtructions to find out the deſigns of the allies. He had a conference there with the grand penſionary Heinſius, and declared what he had in charge. He ſaid, he was thoroughly prepared to carry on the war; and promiſed him his

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fidelity and utmoſt endeavours to act in conjunction with the allies. This declaration was highly acceptable to Heinſius.

But notwithſtanding this, and all his other honourable profeſſions, many people entertained great ſuſpicions of him. Nor did Sir Thomas Hanmer, a leading member of the houſe of commons, who thought fit to accompany the duke of Ormond into the field, at that time, eſcape a ſhare of the reproach for the ill conduct of that campaign.

In the mean time, the whole city and neighbourhood of London re-echoed with the praiſes of the duke of Ormond's honour, and the great actions he was to perform, which were proclaimed by the furious acclamations of the lacquies and link-boys, in concert with the muſical ſound of the butchers iron cleavers.

Duke of Ormond's campaign in 1712.

The duke of Ormond, conſcious, as it were, of ſome ſiniſter deſigns, made very plauſible promiſes at his departure from the Hague.

When he arrived at Ghent, he ordered lieutenant-general Cadogan to draw the forces out of their winter-quarters. Cadogan obeyed orders now as readily as formerly, and ſeemed to be as much in favour with the duke of Ormond, as he had been formerly with the duke of Marlborough. When many ſeemed to wonder at this, Cadogan, to clear himſelf of all ſuſpicion, ſaid, "Though I have ſerved a long "time, and in many dangerous actions under the duke of Marlbo- "rough, and reaped ſome benefits from my ſervice, do not think I "ever conſulted my own, but the queen's ſervice, to whom I have "ſworn allegiance." Theſe profeſſions pleaſed the duke of Ormond, who, on all occaſions, ſhewed diſtinguiſhed favour to the Iriſh.

On the 6th day of May, prince Eugene and the duke of Ormond, having arrived at Tournay, were invited to dine with the earl of Albemarle. On their departure from thence they went to Doway; from whence they proceeded to the camp at Marchiennes. On the 22d they reviewed the army; and having alſo taken a view of the enemy, whoſe

whoſe forces were obſerved to be very weak, they formed the army amidſt the acclamations of all the ſoldiers, and ſummoned a council of all the general officers.

In the mean time, in order to raiſe contributions from the French, and to ſhew that France was almoſt ſubdued, prince Eugene detached general Groveſtein, with fifteen hundred dragoons and huſſars, on the 10th day of June, into the interior parts of that kingdom. Groveſtein, marching through Champaigne, advanced into other provinces of France, impoſing tribute upon all the towns in his way, and filling all places wherever he came with terror and confuſion. Having executed his orders with alacrity, he returned to the camp by the way of Traarbach, bringing many hoſtages along with him, and leaving the French behind him in an univerſal conſternation.

On the 7th day of June, general Fagel, by order of prince Eugene, according to the reſolution of the council of war, marched, with a detachment of thirty battalions out of the left wing, to lay ſiege to Queſnoy. The next day he made himſelf maſter of all the avenues to that town; and on the 19th, the cannons being mounted, the confederates began to batter the fortifications. On the firſt day of July, they aſſaulted and took the counterſcarp; and having poſted themſelves there, prepared to make a general aſſault upon the walls. But on the 3d the governor of the town, finding himſelf unable to hold it out any longer, made a ſignal to ſurrender; and the next day delivered up himſelf and his men to the confederates, priſoners of war.

Queſnoy beſieged;

and taken.

In the mean time the duke of Ormond ſignified to the marſhal de Villars the deſigns of the allies, and that he could not take any part in the ſiege of the town. The confederates continued in the camp before Queſnoy till the 16th day of July, in hopes of being able to reconcile the duke to their meaſures. But he ſtill ſtood out againſt all their ſolicitations. "What then," ſaid prince Eugene, "have we "to do here?" About the ſame time the biſhop of Briſtol declared to the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, that the queen looked upon herſelf as now no longer under any obligations toward them.

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THE news of theſe diſgraceful proceedings preſently ſpread into all countries. The ſtates-general made complaint thereof in England, by their envoy, in a very ſubmiſſive and elegant letter written to the queen, on the 5th day of June; wherein they ſhewed, that they had never been wanting to perform their engagements either in war or peace; and to what great dangers the common cauſe would be expoſed, if her majeſty ſhould deſert her allies, and reduce her forces.

THE duke of Ormond's conduct was alſo complained of in the houſe of lords, but ſomewhat gently, by the lord Halifax. This complaint was ſeconded and urged much more ſeverely by his own relation, the duke of Devonſhire. This nobleman inveighed with the higheſt expreſſions of deteſtation againſt the conduct of Ormond, leſt it ſhould reflect infamy on his own name and family.

To the memorial of the ſtates-general the queen made anſwer, that ſhe would govern according to her own judgment, not by the direction of other people; and make either war or peace, as ſhe had a right to do, at her own diſcretion.

THE earl of Wharton, little regarding what had been affirmed in the houſe of lords by the earl of Oxford, of a general peace, and the rendition of Spain, called upon the duke of Shrewſbury by name, and aſked him plainly and openly before the whole houſe, Whether or no Spain was to be reſtored by the peace? Shrewſbury affirmed, upon his honour, that it was. "I wiſh to God it may," replied Wharton; "then you ſhall never have me any longer an advocate for the "war, but a promoter of peace; and I hope we ſhall all then acknow-"ledge that we owe our peace and ſafety ſolely to her majeſty.'

BUT the duke of Shrewſbury was greatly miſtaken in his belief concerning this matter, as was alſo the earl of Oxford; who both in his diſcourſes and letters had boaſted, that king Philip was ſoon to abdicate the kingdom of Spain: for the marquis de Torcy had fed them both with vain hopes.

DURING

DURING all this time the duke of Ormond, continuing in the confederates camp, conſumed the forage: and in diſcourſe with prince Eugene, about the management of affairs in this difficult time, declared, with regard to his own conduct, that he knew no other difference between what was ſhameful and what was honourable, than obedience to the queen's orders, and that he was reſolved to act accordingly.

MEANWHILE he treated underhand with the maſhal de Villars about taking poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, and ſent a detachment of ſoldiers thither; but the gates were ſhut againſt them. Upon this, the duke of Ormond complained to the marſhal. Villars juſtified the action; but excuſed himſelf on the ground that the auxiliary forces in the Engliſh pay had not yet ſeparated themſelves from the allies. The duke of Ormond, therefore, in a council of war, propoſed a ceſſation of arms for two months, and declared that he would propoſe the ſame to the enemy. He treated alſo clandeſtinely with the commanders of the forces of the different nations, who ſerved in the Engliſh pay, very earneſtly, and with promiſes of great rewards, about the drawing off their troops. And if the duke of Ormond had gained this point, it would have been eaſy for the marſhal de Villars firſt to have cut off prince Eugene, the Imperialiſts, and Dutch, and then the mercenaries, and at laſt the Britiſh troops too; and thus to have deſtroyed the whole confederate army, ſo divided, all in one day.

UNTIL this time the mercenaries had punctually obeyed orders. But now when they were required to ſeparate themſelves from the allied army, they made anſwer to their own officers, that they would obey the duke of Ormond in every thing elſe but in this ſingle point, in which the common ſafety, and their own honour, were in the utmoſt danger; but that in this particular point they could not be prevailed with, by any promiſes or threatenings, to obey him, without the commands of their reſpective ſovereigns; and that they would rather periſh than deſert their allies. Expreſſes were thereupon diſpatched backward and forward to thoſe princes, who, on weighing the arguments on both ſides, approved of the anſwers made by their ſoldiers, calling God

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God and man to witneſs, that they had not hired out their troops for the ſake of their pay only, but alſo out of regard to the common ſafety; adding, withal, that they had been influenced by a conſideration ſtill ſtronger than theſe, the duty they owed to the German empire. This ſo highly provoked the duke of Ormond, that he declared their ſoldiers ſhould be cut off from the arrears of their pay, as well as all future preferments; and immediately proclaimed in his camp a ceſſation of arms for two months, according to her majeſty's commands, ſignified to him by the lord viſcount Bolingbroke.

THE Britiſh ſoldiers were ſo enraged at this unworthy conduct, that they were obſerved in the camp tearing their hair and rending their clothes, with furious exclamations and execrable curſes upon the duke of Ormond, as a "ſtupid tool, and a general of ſtraw." The colonels and captains, and other brave officers, were ſo overwhelmed with vexation, that they ſat apart in their tents with downcaſt eyes, looking upon the ground through mere ſhame, without ſuffering themſelves to be ſeen, even by their fellow-ſoldiers, for ſeveral days together. For it grieved them at their heart to ſubmit to the diſgrace of laying down their arms after ſo many ſplendid victories. Some left their colours, to ſerve among the allies; and others withdrew themſelves afterwards. And whenever they recollected the duke of Marlborough, and the late glorious times, their eyes flowed with tears.

The confederates divide.

THE allied army being now divided into parts, and the pontons and other military ſtores ſhared between them: the duke of Ormond, ſeeing no proſpect of drawing off the auxiliaries, mounted his baggage, and decamped on the 17th day of July. This was the inauſpicious day which cauſed ſo much ſorrow and diſguſt to the allies, and branded the Britiſh name with infamy and diſgrace through the fault of one man. The ſtates-general now took the auxiliaries into their pay.

THE duke of Ormond, without any of the auxiliaries, except the troops of Holſtein-Gottorp, and major-general Wales's dragoons, began to march off with the Britiſh forces, by the way of Doway and Bouchain: but the gates of thoſe cities were ſhut againſt the Britons. And no wonder. On the next day, Ormond ſent lieute-

nant-general Cadogan to prince Eugene, to bid him farewel in his name, and to wiſh him good ſucceſs.

PRINCE EUGENE and the deputies [illegible] Naſſau, ſon of velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, to the duke of Ormond, with their compliments, and to aſſure him that the gates of Doway were not ſhut againſt the Britiſh troops by their orders, as did alſo count Hompeſch the governor; but that on the contrary they had given orders every where to furniſh him with all accommodations in his march.

THE marſhal de Villars alſo thought fit to give notice to the duke of Ormond, that if he found himſelf under any difficulties, he ſhould be welcome to a retreat in France.

AFTER the reduction of Queſnoy, prince Eugene proceeded to lay ſiege to Landrecy.

THE duke of Ormond, loaded with vexation and diſgrace, advanced to Ghent, without doing the leaſt injury to the country or the inhabitants, and placed a garriſon there.

AFTER the armies were thus ſeparated, the grand confederacy broken, and the public ſafety thereby endangered, at laſt the long-looked-for expreſs returned from Spain, ſix weeks after his diſpatch from Paris, with letters from the French king, importing, that king Philip would renounce all right to the crown of France, rather than reſign the kingdom of Spain. Upon this a freſh negociation was ſet on foot between the queen of Great Britain and the French king, how and in what form of words that renunciation was to be made. For the ſettling of this point, the lord Lexington was diſpatched to Spain, and the lord viſcount Bolingbroke to France.

A BODY of troops, tranſported from England with the French king's conſent, took poſſeſſion of Dunkirk.

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Battle of Denain.

In the mean time, the marſhal de Villars in Flanders ſurpriſed a ſeparate body of the confederates poſted at Denain, near Marchiennes, and intirely defeated them; prince Eugene, on account of the river that lay between them, not being able to come to their aſſiſtance. The earl of Albemarle, their general, was taken priſoner, and carried to Paris. He was loaded with many reproaches, but juſtified himſelf fully at the Hague. A vaſt quantity of corn and military ſtores laid up at Marchiennes, fell into the hands of the French. When the news of this diſaſter arrived in Holland, the counſels of the ſtates-general were greatly perplexed; and, by letters to prince Eugene and their deputies, they ordered them to raiſe the ſiege of Landrecy, which is the laſt fortification on the frontiers of France.

Siege of Landrecy raiſed.

Doway, &c. retaken.

In this ruinous ſtate of affairs, after the duke of Ormond's ſeparation, one loſs befel the confederates after another. For the marſhal de Villars, improving the favour of fortune, retook Doway and Queſnoy, and threatened other places, unleſs the allies ſhould immediately agree to a peace. And there was no certainty, but that the duke of Ormond at that time would have joined Villars, if the ſtates-general had not liſtened to the propoſals of the queen of England.

In this ſcandalous disjunction of the confederates, not only the cities and provinces taken in the war, but even the fidelity, and conſtancy, and other virtues of the allies, which had ſhone forth in ſuch ſplendour in the midſt of arms, were now all loſt by the concluſion of peace: and even the courage of the French, which was before ſo low, began now to revive at Utrecht; where they behaved with ſuch inſolence, that even their lacquies were not afraid to inſult the count Van Richteren, one of the plenipotentiaries, and were protected in their inſolence by the French king.

About this time the duke of Hamilton, who was nominated ambaſſador to the French king, being challenged to a duel by the lord Mohun, killed his antagoniſt; but was himſelf alſo killed, as was ſuppoſed, by lord Maccartney, Mohun's ſecond. A tumult happened at Ghent, but was appeaſed by the puniſhment of a few of the ſoldiers.

While

WHILE the duke of Ormond drew off the Britiſh forces from the confederate army abroad, the queen of Great Britain diſarmed herſelf at home. And the French king, perceiving her good-will towards him, of which alſo he was further aſſured by her ambaſſador Bolingbroke, treated with her about a ſuſpenſion of arms in Italy; and a ſafe paſſage for the empreſs herſelf and all the Imperialiſts from Spain. But even after this, and that the empreſs was landed in Italy by the Britiſh fleet, the emperor's miniſters did not think fit to accept the conditions of peace.

THE kings of Portugal and Pruſſia, the deputies of the ſtates-general, and ſome of the princes of Germany, agreed with the French king and the queen of Great Britain, for their reſpective parts, as was required of them. And, after the emperor could not be prevailed on by the queen's good offices, or any other argument, to agree to it, the plenipotentiaries of the allies at Utrecht ſigned a peace with the French king, on the 11th day of April, N. S. 1713. A few days after, the queen received advice, that the peace was ſigned; her majeſty went to the houſe, and, in a well-compoſed ſpeech, acquainted the parliament that ſhe had overcome all difficulties, and ſigned a peace; and that, for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, ſhe had confirmed a perfect friendſhip with the houſe of Hanover, notwithſtanding all the attempts of evil-diſpoſed perſons to divide them.

Peace ſigned at Utrecht.

A MOTION was made in both houſes to return her majeſty thanks according to cuſtom. Many oppoſed this, becauſe the peace was neither general, nor the terms of it laid before the parliament: and therefore, it was urged, they ought not to be too haſty in returning her majeſty thanks, while the matter was yet in the dark, and there was a poſſibility that they might ſee cauſe to repent of it. But, after long debates, the court-party carried it; and they not only returned thanks for the peace to the queen, but a ſolemn thankſgiving to God alſo was obſerved in the churches.

IN the beginning of the year 1713, the duke of Aumont, the French king's ambaſſador, arrived in England, to congratulate her majeſty,

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as did alſo the marquis de Monteleon, ambaſſador from king Philip of Spain. They were both fond of appearing in public, and made many entertainments of maſquerades, concerts of muſic, and other demonſtrations of public feſtivity.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace at Utrecht, and the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk, when the confederates were become diſaffected to each other, the French king made a port at Mardyke, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the Britons, which was carried on as far as Dunkirk.

The emperor's plenipotentiaries left Utrecht full of reſentment; and having enumerated the injuries done to the emperor by his allies, ſet forth the cauſes of their departure in writing. They reflected ſeverely on the queen of Great Britain, charging her with diſpoſing of the rights of others at her own will and pleaſure, and violating the faith of public treaties. To this the Britiſh peace-makers made anſwer, that Britain had been drained of ſuch a maſs of treaſure, and the emperor ſo often deficient in contributing his proportion to the war, that they did not think themſelves obliged to carry this on for ever; and that the emperor had no reaſon now to complain of ill uſage, ſince he would neither hearken to the queen's exhortations, nor call to mind the many benefits her majeſty had ſo frequently conferred upon him.

After the death of the duke of Hamilton, the duke of Shrewſbury was appointed ambaſſador to the French king.

The laſt year died the earl of Godolphin, in a good old age, and worn out in the ſervice of his country. Soon after this, the duke of Marlborough, having obtained the queen's leave, in order to avoid the reproaches of his enemies, retired to Antwerp. Though nothing can be more deſirable, nothing more innocent, or more commendable, than for a man to dedicate ſome part of his time before his death to the ſervice of God, and the examination of his own ſoul, free from the interruption of worldly affairs, yet this retirement of the duke of Marlborough did not eſcape ſuſpicion. Care, therefore, was taken to

prevent his going to certain places, or aſſiſting the emperor or the Dutch with his counſels. After this, the queen's reign was neither of long duration, nor free from trouble.

At this time, the emperor, ſtill perſiſting in his reſolution, ſent his circular letters to all the princes of Germany, requiring them, without loſs of time, to draw all their ſubſidiary forces together to the Rhine.

The French king, now at liberty to fall upon Germany with all his forces, preſcribed to the emperor harder conditions of peace than had been before inſiſted on; declaring, at the ſame time, that unleſs he would ſignify his acceptance of them before the firſt day of June, he would compel him to accept them by force of arms.

The forces on both ſides were drawn towards the Rhine; thither alſo came prince Eugene in all haſte to command the Imperialiſts, and the marſhal de Villars to command the French. Villars, after various feints, laid ſiege to Landau, which he attacked with great vigour. Prince Alexander Wirtemberg, governor of the town, made an obſtinate defence. Prince Eugene, being greatly inferior to the enemy in number, kept within his camp; for the cavalry belonging to the German princes, not duly obeying his orders, could not eaſily be prevailed on to venture a battle. The marſhal de Villars was much ſtronger both in horſe and foot; and therefore, both through the ſmall number of the Imperialiſts, and their want of every thing, the French became maſters of the town. Landau retaken;

In the mean time, the plenipotentiaries of the queen of Great Britain and the duke of Savoy, came to terms of agreement with the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, and ſigned a peace on the 13th day of July: on which the duke of Savoy was ſaluted king of Sicily, though upon pretty hard terms.

Though

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THOUGH the ſtates-general were very deſirous of a peace with Spain, yet there were many and great difficulties that ſtood in its way, ariſing from the claims of the elector of Bavaria and the princeſs Urſini, whoſe intereſt the king of Spain was very reſolute to defend. In anſwer to king Philip's demands, the ſtates deputies alleged that they had no right or juriſdiction to determine of the emperor's affairs: but when no reaſonable argument could divert the king of Spain from the defence of the cauſe he had eſpouſed, the French king undertook to make up the matter, which he ſettled with the king of Spain ſome months afterwards; admoniſhing king Philip not to inſiſt ſo much upon the intereſt of the princeſs Urſini, nor to ſet ſuch a value upon that old woman, as for her ſake to delay the concluſion of a peace with the Dutch.

AFTER the marſhal de Villars had taken Landau, he paſſed the Rhine on the 16th day of September, and laid ſiege directly to the
and Friburg. town of Friburg; which he alſo took, but not without great loſs of his men, in the month of November.

THE French king, now worn out with age, having had full experience of both fortunes, and labouring now under the want both of men and money, began to think it worth his while to try, if he could by any fair means make up matters with the emperor while his affairs had ſo good an aſpect. Great care was therefore taken by the baron Hundheim, and Monſ. de la Houſſaye, governor of Alſace, to procure a conference between prince Eugene and the marſhal de Villars.

Conference at Raſtadt. ON the day appointed, theſe commanders met at Raſtadt, and ſaluted each other with mutual civility after ſo long and bloody a war, and entered into a free converſation. But after they had held ſeveral conferences, and concluded nothing as to the main buſineſs, prince Eugene, impatient of delay, declared, that he would be gone, unleſs he received other propoſals from the French king within a week.

WHEN that time had elapſed, prince Eugene left Raſtadt, and ordered his forces into winter-quarters, warning, at the ſame time, the

princes and ſtates of Germany of their danger, unleſs they would bring more troops to the frontiers, and ſuch as ſhould be obedient to his ſole command.

THE confederacy being diſſolved, and the affairs of the Imperialiſts in the utmoſt confuſion, it was in vain that prince Eugene endeavoured to recover by negociation the provinces which had, many years ago, been wreſted from Germany: and it was with no better ſucceſs that the marſhal de Villars demanded the expences of the war from the emperor, who was never able to make good his own ſhare of theſe to the confederates.

AT length prince Eugene, being informed that the marſhal had received ſome more moderate inſtructions than before, returned to Raſtadt. There it was agreed on between the prince and Villars, that Sardinia ſhould remain to the emperor; as to the ſatisfaction to be made to the elector of Bavaria, the French king required it to be partly made by the emperor, and partly took it upon himſelf: and as to every thing elſe, the two generals referred it to be ſettled by plenipotentiaries in a congreſs to be held at Baden

AT that time it was neceſſary both for the emperor and the French king to conclude a peace; for neither of them had the ſinews of war. Beſides, the French king, perceiving both his own life, and that of the queen of Great Britain, to be drawing to an end, thought this was the moſt convenient time for tranſmitting a laſting peace to his own people, and ſecuring the intereſts of king Philip.

THE plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the French king met at Baden in the ſpring. Signior Paſſionei, the pope's agent, was preſent at the congreſs. But the ſame liberty was not, though earneſtly inſiſted on by the emperor, allowed either to the Engliſh or Dutch miniſters. When the queen made heavy complaints of this, the French king anſwered, that he would do her majeſty all good offices in this treaty, and take as much care of the intereſts of Britain, as the emperor

Treaty of Baden.

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peror could that of Germany. This was looked upon as a moſt dangerous juncture to the proteſtants.

In the mean time, the Pretender to the Britiſh crowns, reſiding in Lorrain, ſent expreſſes to Baden, and every where: and by the advice of the pope, demanded in marriage the daughter of the emperor Joſeph. He alſo ſolicited all the popiſh princes, and the pope himſelf, by all the motives of religion, not to have any thing more at heart, in this critical juncture, than the popiſh religion, and his cauſe, which were always united. About this time, his favourers in England propagated a rumour, that there were good grounds to hope, that he would renounce the popiſh religion, and conform himſelf to the church of England. The lord Bolingbroke came raſhly into their ſentiments; and even treated with the earl of Oxford about paying the dowry of the queen-dowager, widow of king James, then in exile in France. But the earl of Oxford heſitated on this point, till it ſhould appear on what ground it might be done. The widowed queen herſelf had given occaſion to this ſcruple, by claiming that money under the title of queen-mother, inſtead of queen-dowager. And this, the earl of Oxford ſaid, could not be lawfully admitted, after her ſon was attainted by law. And on account of the treaty of commerce between England and France, which was thrown out of the houſe of commons by the intereſt of Sir Thomas Hanmer their ſpeaker, a very bitter quarrel aroſe between the earl of Oxford and the lord viſcount Bolingbroke; the latter of whom was ſupported by the lady Maſham, the duke of Ormond, the lord high chancellor Harcourt, and many others, among whom was Dr. Atterbury, now biſhop of Rocheſter: the former by the duke of Shrewſbury, the lord Bingley, the duke of Buckinghamſhire, and all who had any favour for the whig principles, or zeal for the ſucceſſion of the crown as by law eſtabliſhed.

By this means the good correſpondence between theſe two lords was broke, and a diſſention aroſe in the parliament. And the more to foment this diviſion, the whigs ſometimes favoured the one, ſometimes the

the other. It was with the ſame view that they demanded a writ to call over the electoral prince of Hanover to England, as duke of Cambridge, leſt the Pretender ſhould happen to land in Britain, of which, and of the lord Bolingbroke's and duke of Ormond's inclination to him, rumours were induſtriouſly propagated every day.

THE queen, equally afraid of the arrival of the Pretender, and that of the prince of Hanover, in order to prevent this, and all ſimilar attempts, ſent the earl of Clarendon ambaſſador to Hanover, to perſuade the elector not to permit his ſon to come over. The elector thought fit to obey the queen's pleaſure, though greatly againſt the will of his mother the princeſs Sophia; which that princeſs, who was a high-ſpirited woman, laid ſo heavily to heart, that ſhe fell ſick and died in a few days after. Princeſs Sophia's death.

THE queen of Spain having died a few months before this, king Philip demanded in marriage the only daughter of the duke of Parma. This lady was no ſooner married, and conducted to Spain, than, on her firſt landing, ſhe deſired the king to diſmiſs the princeſs Urſini.

ABOUT this time the French king, at the ſame time that he continued his treaty for a peace with the emperor at Baden, commanded the duke of Berwick to lay ſiege to the city of Barcelona, and to deſtroy the people, who held out that city for the emperor, unleſs they laid down their arms immediately, and returned to their allegiance to king Philip, without making any terms.

A PART of the wall being beat down by the artillery, new works, by the indefatigable labour of the inhabitants, were thrown up behind it. The citizens made a vigorous defence: and when they were fatigued, the monks, the matrons, and the conſecrated nuns of all religious orders, came up to their relief; who not only ſuccoured the citizens with their exhortations and aſſiſtance, but even reſolutely encountered all dangers, and expoſed themſelves to death itſelf, for the ſafety of the city. Siege of Barcelona.

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When the walls were ſurmounted, part of the city was given up to the ſoldiers for plunder. The modeſt matrons and virgins were raviſhed, and narrowly eſcaped being murdered. All who were found in arms were put to the ſword; and many of the unarmed were hanged up and down on trees: ſo that I know not any city which ever, within the memory of man, gave greater proofs of fidelity and courage, or ſuffered more cruel puniſhment than Barcelona.

As ſoon as the army was refreſhed, the French king reſolved to make a deſcent on the iſland of Majorca; after the conqueſt of which, it is ſaid, he intended to fall with all his force upon the king of Portugal.

The conditions of peace, concluded at Baden between the emperor and the French king, were kept a profound ſecret, which gave occaſion of jealouſy to the proteſtants; and of there was no doubt but ſome violation was offered to the treaties of Munſter and Utrecht. The proteſtants knew not which way to turn themſelves. Another prince or Orange was not to be found. The king of Sweden was ſo provoked by the injuries of the king of Denmark and the elector of Hanover, that he turned his arms againſt thoſe of his own religion. The queen of Great Britain's inclinations were ſuſpected; and her life in danger through a bad ſtate of health: neither could they depend on the elector of Hanover, from the moment he refuſed leave to his ſon to go over into England, which was matter of great affliction to the moſt zealous friends of his family in all parts of Great Britain.

At laſt, in this time of anxious jealouſy, the queen was attacked with a violent diſeaſe in a broken conſtitution; and being oppreſſed with the irreconcilable quarrels of thoſe about her, fell into a ſort of apoplexy in the latter end of July; but ſoon coming to herſelf again, ſhe gave the treaſurer's ſtaff, which ſhe had taken from the earl of Oxford the day before, to the duke of Shrewſbury, being then ſcarcely able to draw her breath, and within two days after the earl of Oxford and lord viſcount Bolingbroke had openly, in her preſence, deſcended to the moſt virulent perſonal reproaches. She died on the firſt day of Auguſt 1714.

Queen Anne's death.

ON the news of the queen's death, the lords, who were appointed by law, regents of the kingdom, were ſummoned to council. As ſoon as they aſſembled, they, with one conſent, iſſued orders to the heralds to proclaim George, elector of Hanover, king, with the uſual ſolemnities; which was accordingly done amidſt the loud and repeated acclamations of the people. George proclaimed king.

THE earl of Dorſet was ſent by the council to Hanover, to congratulate his majeſty on his acceſſion to the throne of Great Britain. Others alſo were diſpatched to him expreſs, through another channel. Nor were there ſome wanting to ſend the news of the queen's death to the Pretender.

ABOUT the ſame time the duke of Marlborough came into England, at the requeſt of the lord Bolingbroke, in whoſe favour he is ſaid to have declared himſelf. But there cannot be the leaſt doubt, that in eſpouſing the cauſe of Bolingbroke, the duke had a view to his own intereſt.

THE Pretender, having received intelligence of what had paſſed, went with all ſpeed to Paris, and paid a viſit to his mother. But the French king was no ſooner acquainted with his coming, than he ſent the marquis de Torcy to him, to aſk him what buſineſs he had there? and to charge him in the king's name, to return by break of day to the place from whence he came. For the French king always regarded his own intereſt more than any other perſon's right. Beſides, he now underſtood, that there never was a more conſtant, moderate and uniform ſtate of affairs in England than appeared at this time.

THE elector of Hanover made no great haſte; but, as if he had thought all things were governed by fate or fortune, ſtaid a long time to ſettle his own affairs at home. After this he declared who ſhould accompany him in his journey; and having obtained the emperor's leave to depart, ſet out at laſt for England.

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When he arrived at the Hague, he received the congratulations of the ſtates, whom he aſſured of his friendſhip, and his fixed purpoſe to obſerve ancient alliances with the republic. He then went on ſhipboard, with the prince of Wales. A fair wind carried him to England, where he landed at Greenwich. A vaſt train of the nobility of all denominations received him on ſhore, and attended his majeſty to the royal palace.

Lands in England.

APPENDIX.

SPECIMENS of Mr. CUNNINGHAM's LATINITY.

Character of the PRINCE *of* ORANGE, WILLIAM III. *King of* ENGLAND.

QUAMVIS Auriacus naturâ taciturnus eſſet, non tamen aut ingenii tarditas, aut linguæ debilitas in eo erat; neque literis rudis: imo, omnis virtutis maturitatem agnoſcebat in eo adoleſcente Devittus, hominum explorator acerrimus. Erat ad conſilia prudens, ad audiendum promptus, ſed in armis acer; nec ſatis cauſæ eſt cur minimum quodque erratum cum adoleſcentis ſummâ laude nunc conjungerem. Nec ipſi vita erat quæ corpore et ſpiritu, ac fortunæ bonis continetur; ſed quæ omni memoriâ viveret. Et quos alii ſe videri, is eſſe cupiebat. Nihil ei popularius fuit quàm bonitas, et communis libertatis defenſio. In religionibus, patriam excoluit, et Voutianarum partium, ante alias, erat ſervantiſſimus: reliquas, imo et pontificias, præter Jeſuitarum labem, ferendas cenſuit. Lunæ diem, parum ſuæ domui fauſtam deputans, nihil auſpicari eâ luce voluit. Omnibus in vitæ humanæ caſibus multa divino numini tribuit, nec libertatem tollens: ſumma ei lex fuit recta utpote ratio a numine divino tracta. Moribus Belgarum ſe accommodans, non largus pecuniæ dicitur, verùm ſæpe publicam parcimoniam ſuo exemptû et ſumptû, pro temporum difficultate juvabat. Reſtrictis diſſentionum civilium facibus patriæ funeſtis, vicinorum principum gratiam colligit: Brandenburgum et Zellenſem tanquam parentes coluit. Ut multa in pauca conferam, in hunc adoleſcentem omnes libertatis et religionis purioris vindices oculos id temporis conjiciebant: neque ipſius avunculus Anglus alieno in eum fuit animo, qui flagitabatur quotidie a civibus, cum bonorum omnium querelis, tum ſenatûs precibus, ut bello cum Belgis abſtineret, et cauſam proteſtantium ex triplici fœdere ſuſciperet.

His

His EXPEDITION *into* ENGLAND, *Nov.* 1688.

REBUS omnibus in Belgio ad profectionem comparatis, Auriacus cui aderat Schombergus, militibus in naves diſpoſitis e portu ſolvit. Claſſis, cui præficitur Herbertus, erat ad 50 fere navium prætorianarum: onerariæ ſexcentenæ. Præter copias, erat ingens proſcriptorum numerus, quas vel patriæ caritas, egeſtas, vel ſuperiorum temporum iniquitas eo adegerat ut nunc arma caperent: præter ſupra nominatas, numerantur Sydneus, Argathelius, Stariſius, Cardroſius, illiuſque bini fratres, Poluartus, G. Ballivus, Fletſerus, &c. quibus aderant etiam variarum religionum ſacerdotes, Gulielmus Carſtariſius vir bonus, Ferguſonus nequam, et Gilbertus Burnettus dubius: quos omnes ad ſuos uſus adjungit Auriacus.

ACCIDIT, per id tempus, ut tempeſtates ad navigandum idoneas non haberet claſſis; quamobrem ſacerdotes in utramque partem Dii vota faciunt, crebræque ſupplicationes ad Deorum pulvinaria fiunt optantque viri ut ad tempus Auriacæ excenſionis reſpublica ſpiritum ducere poſſit: namque eâ claſſe omne proteſtantium robur vehebatur et Britanniæ ſalus. Sed vix dum ex proſpectû littoris Belgii provecta fuerat claſſis, quam orta tempeſtate in littus rejicitur: onerariæ navis una et altera a prædonibus maritimis Angli capitur, plures damno afficiuntur. Auriacus, in quo ſatis animi et perſeverantia fuit refectis ſine mora navibus, iterum vela facit calendas Novembrium.

CIRCA hoc tempus, Nottingamius comes, in ancipite cum eſſet in libertatis vindicum cœtu, ſe in vitæ diſcrimen adduxerat ni interceſſiſſet Danbienſis; nam reticentia crimen læſæ majeſtatis eſt. Scoti epiſcopi quidem auditâ clade per tempeſtatem illatâ, ſtultè et magnificis verbis hoſtium internecionem, cerviceſque datas regi gratulantur, quod et perficeret hac victoriâ: ut ſi montes reſidiſſent, maria exaruiſſent, Britanniam cœli beneficio ſuiſque precibus munitam haberet.

REX,

REX, minus de perſeverantia Auriaci nunc dubitans, epiſcopis gratias agit: indictis comitiis diem prorogat. Intellecta uxoris Sunderlandii in Belgium profectione, ipſum nunc primum regi ſuſpectum, conſiliis et ſecretis ſubmoveri debere, omnibus aliis conſiliis antevertendum regis neceſſarii exiſtimant: quo facto, nec cives, nec aulici regi amplius fident.

AURIACUS, in Angliæ littus delatus, ubi optatum portum propter adverſum ventum ingredi non poterat, vela retorquet, et ſecundo vento ad alium proficiſcitur, haud diffiſus civium quocunque iretur voluntati; erectus etiam honeſtiſſimi facti conſcientiâ et quo animo parati erant milites. Regiam claſſem Dobrim inter et Vectim præter navigans aggredi ſtatuit, ſi quam in itinere moram ſibi fecerit Dartmuthus comes, regiæ claſſis prætor, nec male de Auriaco meritus, qui adverſum ventum cauſabatur. Quarto die Novembris qui Auriaci natalis eſt, ſinum Torbaicum claſſis ingreditur: ſequente die, qui Anglis feſtus eſt, ob maris ſævitiam, ſolum certos homines in terram Auriacus exponit, qui cum renunciâſſent nullum concurſum fieri, ſed littora tuta eſſe, reliquis diebus omnem exercitum navibus eduxit.

His DEATH.

REX paucis ante annis incommoda valetudine uſus, imbecillitatem exercitatione ſublevare ſolebat, et fati conſcius de bonis omnibus teſtamento bienno ante diſpoſuit. Nunc, cum domi ex vulnere detentus ſit, nec, uti prius, vires platocerotum* et phaſeonorum venatione alere, neque humores labore diſſipare poſſit, hi in genu deſidunt, eumque gravi dolore afficiunt. Ei ante oculos mors nunc obverſabatur domi, quam ſæpe in caſtris oppetiverat. Inde quatriduum vix præterierat quam grabato recubans, repentino tremore correptus in febrim inciderat, quæ ſenſim latius ſerpſerat. Febriculæ adjuncta fuit tuſſis; quæ, cum magis magiſque ingraveſceret, medici de regis vita pluri-

* This word, which is of Greek derivation, and ſignifies any thing having broad horns, has been erroneouſly perhaps tranſlated partridges. As there is a ſpecies of theſe animals in Scotland that have a broad tuft of feathers on their head, the tranſlator ventured to apply the epithet of *platocerotum* to them, the joining of deer with pheaſants appearing to have an air of incongruity. But having conſulted with Dr. Parr on this, as on ſeveral other matters, he is inclined to acquieſcé in the arguments drawn by that gentleman, from the moſt various reſources of philology, to ſhew, that the epithet in queſtion has never been applied to birds, and that it muſt refer, in this place, to fallow-deer.

mum deſperare cæperunt, namque cita alvo et vigiliis plures dies laborabat. Nunc, ut omnia paria in ſe oſtenderet, ejurandi æmuli legem ad ſe perlatam à comitiis ſanxit, amoris et odii cauſas procul habens: idque fecit de ſuorum et comitiorum precibus conſilio ac precibus, afflagitante etiam Anna principe, ne qua temporum conditione, ea quæ pro re communi libertate, ac religione egiſſet, in ſuam contumeliam, ſuorumque amicorum perniciem converterentur. Rex, uſque dum interierat, integris erat ſenſibus, eademque prope memoriâ, quâ recta valetudine utebatur, gravitateque cum lepore conjuncta, ſuper lectum reclinatus ſuos alloquitur. Itaque ad emigrationem animæ ſe comparavit, ut ſui exiſtimationem et ſuperioris temporis venerationem apud circumſtantes multis partibus auxerit. Nunc extremum, archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, cum ſacro myſtico ſalutarique apparatu, ad ſe vocari jubet, ſacriſque rite peractis, æquo ac forti animo, ſine ullo vultûs corporiſve motu, vitam morte mutavit 8vo die Martii menſis, anno MDCCII.

Quo quidem tempore emoriens, cum jam cæteris ex partibus oppreſſa mens eſſet, extremum ſenſum ad redemptæ ſalutis humanæ, et bonorum civium memoriam reſervavit: itaque placidè tranquillèque, interruptâ nunc voce, erectis in cœlum oculis, ut nihil eo viro paratius, neque conſtantius, neque ſanctius mori poſſit; cujus laudes nulla tacebit ætas, nulla vetuſtas obruet. Et ſi quis regum omnium, ſuorum conſiliorum et factorum exemplar ex ſummorum hominum rebus præclarè geſtis peteret, non ſolùm ex hac ejus vita, nunc delibatâ, ſed ex actis Anglorum et Belgārum publicis, magni principis et imperii exemplum petat. Quod et cum ſuis inimiciſſimis nimium facilis in gratiam rediiſſet; non niſi ut ea quæ per eum adfecta ſint, perfecta imperio nunc Britannico, et Belgarum reipublicæ tandem traderentur. Nihil in vita illum magis pœnituiſſe dicitur, quàm quod, biennio ante, adminiſtros mutâſſet, nominatim Summerium, quem magni fecerat.

His PERSON *and* TEMPER.

GULIELMUS rex ſtatura fuit mediocri, capillo caſtanei coloris, oculis acutis, naſo aquilino, gibbis humeris, cruribus gracilibus: formæ dignitas ei non defuit vel ſtanti vel ſedenti, verùm ei maxima

fuit equo insidenti auctoritas. In quotidiana consuetudine comes et affabilis, in majoribus rebus gravis et tacitus, nec suæ dignitatis unquam immemor. Atra bile aliquando correptus, eandem in cubicularios et medicos evomuit. Lenis adeo et innocens erat, ut inimicissimis et conjuratoribus in suum caput ignosceret, nisi senatus intercessisset. In vario eloquentiæ genere, nemo erat eo sententiis acutior ac crebrior, nec verbis ornatior. Dubiis in rebus in eo ingenium mirum, alacritas, et benevolentia singularis: nec minus conciliendæ principum gratiæ, et promerendi Dei hominumque amoris efficax studium; tantaque benignitas, ut ne privatus quidem paterna bona acervaret, neque diadema in prædam avaritiæ, sed bonitati instrumentum quærere videretur.

Characters of the Lord SOMERS, *the Earl of* OXFORD, *and the Duke of* MARLBOROUGH.

HARLÆUS nunc comes Oxonii et Mortimarii creatus, summus Magnæ Britanniæ quæstor fit. Is antiquitatis suæ gentis studiosissimus est, et magis honorum appetens quàm pecuniæ, contra atque Marleburghus: porro is videri quàm esse mallet, contra atque Summerius. In singulis insunt excellentissimæ virtutes, et rerum scientia, et artium varietas. In Summerio minima vitia, nec nisi humana, et quibus nemo mortalium non aliquando succubuit. Merito Marleburghus Galliæ expugnator, et periculorum depulsor celebratur: Summerius reipublicæ servator, patriæ parens, atque patriciæ autoritatis conditor: Oxfordius, seu Oxonii comes, communis Angliæ orator, et suæ gentis ampliator, et regiæ successionis propagator.

SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS—*and Battle of* GILLICRANKY.

IN Scotia [Gulielmus rex] Maccaio suo legato imperat ut copias in Septentriones adversus Taodunensem duceret, qui montuosis in locis Scotiæ, exercitum montanorum conflabat. Dissona hæc gens moribus et linguâ, firma corporis constitutione est, et natura bellicosa. Ho-

mines illis in locis, quamvis ingenio ſint præcoces, arte tamen et diſciplinâ prorſus rudes habentur; quare agricultura atque opificinæ apud eos plus intermittuntur quàm armorum uſus domeſticus, quæ quotidianis ſecum præliis exercentur. Ea maximè vitæ ratio illis placet, quæ à majoribus inſtituta: neque multo frumento utuntur, niſi in Moravia et Roſſia; maximam partem lacte, pecore, ac carne ferina vivunt, multumque ſunt in direptionibus et venationibus. Infantes recenter nati aqua lavantur, plus firmandi corporis quàm religionis cauſâ, atque in eam conſuetudinem ſe adducunt, ut locis frigidiſſimis etiam hyeme conſiſtere poſſint, nullâ aliâ veſte præter chlamydem uſi, cujus propter exiguitatem, magna pars corporis ſine pudore aperta cernitur. Vitæ veſtiumque ſimilitudine, et nominis plus oblectantur cognatione, quàm ſtripis ac naturæ: et tabacino pulvere amicitias colunt firmiores, quàm ullo naturæ ſenſu ac ſanguine inſtincti. Exercitatio quotidiana atque libertas vitæ vegeta, vires alit et immani magnitudine corporis homines facit. Mulieres apud eos diu in cœlibatu manent. Vino non tam utuntur quàm cerviſia, vinique ſpiritu quam aquam vitæ appellant: hoc potus genere ſe animo firmari; aliis verò rebus ſuavibus, et vino Gallico homines effœminari arbitrantur. Ægroti apud eos nec ſanguinem mittere, nec medios accieri volunt ne valetudine magis tentarentur: cauſidicos etiam animo abhorrent. Fœminæ diu impuberes ſunt: et puerperæ iis in regionibus laxa veſte ac prope nulla utuntur. Cum optimæ formæ ſint plerumque neque invenuſtæ, ſed probis moribus, præter cætera, ſuras ad talos nudæ, nullo viri neque verborum faſtidio capiuntur. Apud eos non magno in honore eſt uxoribus ducendis haud ambigua virginitas; nec quidquam turpius quàm patrono aliquid negare. Pleræque procerâ ſunt ſtaturâ, et iſtiuſmodi partus edunt, quippe nullo labore, nulla diſciplina aſſuefactæ, rariſque ſubjectionibus laborantes. Homines longævi ſunt, niſi ante diem laqueo vitam finiant ob commiſſa latrocinia. Nec bene de re familiari conſtituti, magna ex parte aliena appetunt, nec legum docti quid ſuum quid alienum dignoſcunt. Illis in pudore non eſt patibulum, imo beatum latronem, neſcio quo inſtituto, niſi Neapolitanorum conſuetudine, magna religione colunt. Mercatores qui hos probe nôrunt, ne quidem merces eò important ſine patronorum præſidio, quos ſumma

fide

fide plebs colit, et per horum dexteram jurare non dubitat. Religionem partim a Druidibus, partim a pontificiis, partim a nobis habent: neque ullæ ceremoniæ adſcitæ diu multumque illis curæ ſunt, ſuaſque ab ultima Thulis antiquitate repetunt fabulas. Divinatione et præſagiis ex cœlo longè deductis dilectantur. In teſtimoniis dicendis, nullo Deorum metu commoventur, nihilque præter vocem et os præſtant in jurejurando, nec religionem ullam colere poſſunt, niſi prius eam ſcelere et ſanguine violaverint. In turpiſſimis rebus habent à patronis deſciſcere, aut veſtem ac vitæ viam a majoribus inſtitutam exterorum conſuetudine et veſtibus mutare. Pacis tempore iis manus ſunt rapaces, lingua mendaces, in bello pedibus plerumque valent, atque pedeſtribus præliis maximè utuntur, parum equis aſſueti. Illis arma ſunt enſis, pugio, et ſcutum; ſclopis etiam utuntur. In pugna, hoſtium impedimenta avidiſſimè ſpectant eòque magno impetu ruunt.

Hæc gens, patrum memoria, magnam virtutis bellicæ laudem ex rebus geſtis magni Montiſroſani cum Argathelio conſecuta eſt. Suas victorias, et prædonum ſupplicia, qui apud illos loco martyrum ſunt, in hunc uſque diem, carmine vernaculè condito, memoria tenent: quo nunc decepti, facilè ductore Taodunenſe è gente Montiſroſani ad Jacobi regis partes abeunt. Hoc ſibi perſuaſum habent, ſuperiorum temporum in Scotia reges à ſe genus ducere, et veſte ipſis propria uſos fuiſſe; ideoque Jacobum regem, divino quodam jure ſuum, facilè agnoſcunt: nam in veſtibus atque longi temporis uſu religionem quandam ineſſe putant; quod nec nunc hîc reprehendo.

Montani igitur, ſpe imprimis prædæ, bellum præſumunt, in Atholiæ finibus conglobati, et Duncaldum oppidum propugnant, donec injecto tectis igne arcebantur. Non longè à Blaro ex montibus inſtructa acie prodeunt, ductore Taodunenſe, et magna virtute feliciter pugnantes, ac præda potiti, derepentè fugam carpunt victores. Quid rei ſit multi mirantur, cur utraque acies fugam capeſceret. Nihil certè montanis ad victoriam, atque univerſæ Scotiæ fœdam direptionem reliquum fuit, quàm ſalus Taodunenſis, qui fortiter pugnando in prælio cecidit. Huius morte intellecta, ſtatim montani, non modo

hoſtium, ſed et ſuorum ſpoliis onuſti, in montes remigârunt: namque à morte Taodunenſis, ad neminem unum exercitûs imperium rediterat, nec iſta gens imperium facilè ferre poteſt.

Battle of Blenheim.

QUI hoc præliandi concilium ab Eugenio et Marleburgo initum putant, aut ſui oſtentationis cauſâ, aut illorum in Badenſem odio, temporum conditiones, bellique rationes prorſus ignorant. Ipſis enim impoſita erat pugnæ neceſſitas, ne commeatu laborarent. Nunc pugnæ facultas fit: cui occaſioni ſi tempus ſe ſubduxerit, hoſtis poſtridie caſtra facili labore muniſſet ad Bleinhemum pagum, cui à dextra erat Danubius, à ſiniſtra dorſum longè porrectum acclive, et ſylvis oppletum, et inſidiis tegendis aptiſſimum. Porro iis viſum eſt, pugnæ ſtudium alacriores milites facit, et ubi ſe vident impetum in hoſtes facturos, plurimum animo augentur plerumque milites. Ideo hæc vicit in concilio ſententiâ dimicandi, et primâ luce poſtridie conſtituunt proficiſci. Cùm non ſpatium hoſti eſſet Bleinhemum vallo foſſâque muniendi, aſſeribus, ſepibus, aut viminea loriculâ, quæ ſpeciem munitionis præbebant pro temporis exiguitate muniebat.

A FRONTE hoſtium, ubi ex planicie ſurgit lene faſtigium, præterfluit ingens latex qui prope Bleinhemum accedens, ad rivi magnitudinem ſurgit, ſeque terra uliginoſâ immergens, ac reſtagnans ſuper pagum, labe ſe per prata diffundit, et locum paluſtrem et pugnæ iniquum reddit. Bavarus cupidus pugnandi, ut audîſſet fœderatos moram ſub itinere facere, eo audacius ſuos ex caſtris procedere jubet, reliquos et defatigatos, et infirmos, caſtris et propinquis caſtellis præſidio diſponit. Hoſtis Hocſtadio egreſſus, ad faſtigium prope pervenit amni, aquam ibi gurgite facto collegit, et quod tempus poſtulat, ad impetum parat. Talardus, qui dextræ imperabat, collocatis in pago Bleinhemo xxviii peditatus agminibus et equitum levis armaturæ turmis xiii. aciem quam ſpecioſiſſimè poſſit inſtruxit: quomodo et in ſiniſtrâ Bavarus. Mediæ aciei, ubi fœderatis ad flumen unicus eſſe potuit

potuit acceſſus imperat Talardus, ibique tormentorum ingens numerus ordine conſtructior ſpatii ccc. ab amne paſſuum, quibus planiciem longè latèque verberabant Galli.

MARLEBURGHUS et Eugenius, miſſis à tergo impedimentis, atque omnibus ad committendum prælium diſpoſitis, xiii die menſis Auguſti, explorata naturâ loci, ante lucem in hoc ingrediuntur. Contra Talardus neque fatis ſuis militibus ex pugna priore perterritis confidebat, nec locum pugnæ commodum ratus, ſpatium interponendum ad recreandos militum animos putabat. Si ſeipſi caſtris paucos dies contineret, fore, ut fœderati commeatu laborarent, ſe non dubitare, dixiſſe fertur. Bavarus verò omnem moram rumpit, in iracundia perſeverans, et, aptatis oneratiſque tormentis, aciem inſtrui jubet, atque rei ſummam uniùs diei fortunæ committere voluit.

HIC locus pugnæ, mirabili planicie patet millia paſſuum xii. quam jugum ingens à Danubio ortum ambit, et circi ſpeciem efficit. Fœderati bipartito itinere ad hoſtem progrediuntur: Eugenius dextræ imperans ſuos per collium dorſum dumis impeditum ducens, ante lucem ardua locorum ſuperat, et jugis ad certum oppidum pervenit. Ipſi erant tranſcendendæ etiam difficillimæ valles, et ſaxa præruptа iter impediebant. Ubi ſylvis egreditur ſol oritur, quæ ultima lux Galliæ eſt gloriæ et dominationis.

MARLEBURGHUS in ſiniſtrâ, ſuperato Keſſelio flumine quod agros interſecat, ſecundùm Danubium incedens, per Bleinhemenſem planiciem latam iii. millia paſſuum, et campis frumentariis nobilem iter in hoſtem tendit. Cùm non longè abeſſet ab hoſte, qui in procinctu ſtabat, et tormentis planiciem longè latè verberabat, ſigna conſiſtere jubet, militemque cohortatus, quid a quoque fieri vellet, præfectis tribuniſque militum præcipit. Eugenius, Sylvis egreſſus, cum Marleburghum antecedere, et ad hoſtes properantem vidiſſet ſuos addere gradum jubet. Quid Gallis eo tempore in mentem oculoſque pervenerat, ut Cæſarianos per dorſum cornua extendentes, tanquam ſuos agnoſcerent, planè neſcio, niſi natura homines facilè judicent quod maximè velint. Ubi agmen retorqueri ad ſiniſtram Galli obſervarant,

Villeroium

Villeroium illis ferre auxilium putant. Verùm Eugenius dextrum cornu ad colles protendens, errorem Gallorum animis illico ſubtrahit, et in aciem prodit. Ei in fronte erat latex aquæ, a tergo lucus, et quid fieri vellet ſuis oſtendit. Marleburghus in aperta planicie ſtans, Cutzium dominum cum agminibus quibuſdam multum in pugnâ Schelembergenſi attritis, aliiſque integris ad oppugnandum Bleinhemum pagum præmittit. Quo viſo, Talardus, detractas ex acie quaſdam copias, in oppidum immittit. Marleburghus infeſtus hoſtium tormentis redditus, aciem ſtatim inſtruit. Britannos et Belgas in cornu ſiniſtro collocat: reliquos inter aciem mediam et cornua interjicit; atque mediam aciem legionibus quibuſdam Anglorum refertam ipſe ducens, caſtra caſtris conferre jubet. Cutzius cui aderat Vilkius, horâ nonâ magnâ alacritate pagum majore præſidio defenſum adoritur. Cùm ingens utrinque ſtrages edita fuiſſet per ſeſquihoram, nec quidquam Cutzius perfeciſſet, Gallique progreſſos malè habuiſſent, Marleburghus ei mandat ut omnis adminiſtratio ibi conſiſteret, atque expugnatione deſiſteret. Paret Cutzius, atque utrinque milites ſeſe aſpicientes, hic loci, vi abſtinent; acieſque Cutzii ante opus inſtructa, ſub hoſte diu ſtetit. Interim Marleburghus animadvertens hoſtium aciem nudatam, copiis in oppidum immiſſis, ſuoſque ſtudio pugnæ ardentes, et ſignum expoſcentes, equitibus imperat ut quiſque ſibi 20 faſces pararet, quo commodiore tranſitu per paludem uti poſſint. Namque hoſtis aquam ibi tantâ altitudine collegerat, ut tranſitum fœderatis ſe facilè prohibere poſſe putaret. Faſcibus nunc paratis, atque copiis diſpoſitis, Marleburghus ſignum pugnæ dat, præfectoſque adverſus hoſtem dirigere jubet: atque miles univerſus innata ſibi alacritate ineitus, et infeſtis ſignis accurrens, amnem tranſire contendit, ſpretiſque hoſtium miſſilibus eo ordine quo agminibus a Marleburgho præceptum fuerat ad vadum deſcendunt.

TALARDUS omnia vada ac ſaltus paludis certis, uti viſum, cuſtodiis obtinebat, ſic ipſe animo paratus in acie ſtabat, ut ſi fœderati paludem perrumpere conarentur, facilè ipſe hæſitantes premeret. Suis enim prædixerat, ut ſe loco non moverent, et hoſtium impetum exciperent. Nec aliter tranſitum noſtrorum prohibet, quàm crebris tormentorum ictibus, quod quidem nulla ratione a Talardo factum videretur. Mar-

leburghus ad amnem accedens ictu globi tormentarii pæne opprimebatur: quo quidem casu, summam belli periclitari in ejus capite vident milites. Terra et pulvere obvolutus, Marleburghus equum conscendit, et omnibus copiis ad ripam accedens, viam per amnem urget. Præmissis quibusdam equitum turmis, certatim pedites progressi, atque ad lævam iter ordines flectentes in aciem se instruunt, interjectis intervallis ita ut locus pugnæ transeuntibus reliquis relinqueretur. Fœderati pugnæ studio exciti, vix instructâ acie progrediuntur, et acriter impetum faciunt, terribili vi ignis sclopis emissâ, qua Gallorum acies plurimum attenuatur. Nunc multis in locis concurritur, acriterque pugnatur. Una et altera hora intercesserat, cum res incerta videretur. Fœderati tandem, in sinistra ala, consumpto omni pulvere Pyreo, ordines laxant, quo facilius uti gladiis possint. Integri his succedunt qui prælium more militari redintegrant. Curæ Marleburgho fuit, ut aciem condensaret: ipse in hostes irrumpit: ejus quieta virtus, hoc temporis puncto, in certamine sæva fuit, atque Britanni inversis sæpe sclopis in hostes irruunt, qui cum Gallis robore præstarent, eos raris ordinibus progressos repellunt, et resistentes in aciê turmatim concidunt. Ægre ferre potuit hostis Machæras nostrorum equitum levis armaturæ, nec turmarum impetum ac robor sustinere. Inclinato jam die ad postmeridianum tempus, inclinante etiam ad se victoriâ, Marleburghus, ut vidisset Eugenium in dextro cornu laborantem, aciem quæ quieta fuerat, et quam ad id tempus reservaverat, eo procurrere jubet. Quo facto, atque ubi integri defatigatis successerant, Cæsariani animo confirmati, Sylvis egrediuntur, atque Eugenius pugnam redintegrat. Marleburghus loco urget hostes, qui cùm se recolligere vellent, fœderati superiorum pugnarum exercitatione docti, alia hostium agmina in acie, alia ab aperto latere adoriuntur, alia â tergo circumvenire conantur.

Talardus cum aciem nunc titubantem restaurare vellet, nunc extremum militem ex oppido evocat. Quod animadvertens Marleburghus, oppidum ab acie hostium præcludit, atque Gallos oppido exeuntes per Hassianos et v. Anglorum agmina rejicit. Postquam omnis ad oppidum aditus interceptus fuerat, universa hostium acies, phalangum fœderatorum robore oppressa, nunc titubare incipit. Sed

Talardus,

Talardus, irâ incitatus, in colle pugnam non longè a tormentis ſuis renovare voluit. Eo accurrunt Haſſius princeps, Bulæus Hannoverus, Lumlæus et alii equitatum ducentes, qui magnâ alacritate Talardi v. cohortes colle dejiciunt. Quo facto, Marleburghus turmas, quo res poſtulat, ſine morâ mittit, atque ingente facto impetu, univerſi hoſtes terga vertunt. Ut ſemel inclinaverat pugna, vis fœderata intolerabilis ubique fuit: nec Talardo ſpatium reficiendi aciem datur, nec ſuos diſperſos colligendi. Quare is ſummæ rei nunc diffidens, et acie excedere volens, ab Haſſiano quodam militum tribuno deprehenſus capitur et ad Marleburghum ducitur. Nunc vehementer in acie laboratur, atque tota Gallorum dextra ala in fugam ſe conjiciens tergum vertit. Reliquus hoſtium equitatus in prærupto loco, et ex utraque parte directo ad Danubium, collocatus, circumfunditur ab equitum levis armaturæ iii. phalangibus. Circumventi, cum locus pugnæ ibi non eſſet, ſalutem fuga quærentes et perrumpere fœderatorum aciem conantes, partim iniquitate loci, partim fœderatorum virtute rejiciuntur, et in Danubii alveum premuntur.

Hæc cum in ſiniſtra agerentur, in dextra ala arma armis teruntur, Cæſariani bis in dumos repelluntur, et a Bavaris malè habentur. Ubi Eugenius ad tertium impetum faciendum ſuos hortatus fuerat, eò nuncius rei benè geſtæ in ſiniſtra venit. Ut ſe illi res habeat, et ecquid fieri velit, ex eo ſcire cupit Marleburghus. Verùm Eugenius confirmatis ſuorum animis ex adventu integri militis, et rei proſperè geſtæ in ſiniſtra nuncio, tertium impetum alacri animo facit, atque hoſtem vehementer pugnantem agere cæpit. Nec Bavaro ſuos colligendi ſpatium datur, qui cùm Gallos fuga effuſos ſpectâſſet, ne ipſe a fœderatis undique circumveniretur, quadrato agmine cum impedimentis ex pugna more militari excedit, nec intermiſſo nocturno itinere, Ulmam contendit.

Quo tempore acie excedunt hoſtes, ad occaſum properabat ſol, qui nec omni hoc bello Galliæ gloriæ oriturus eſt. Nox Bavaro præſidio fuit, nec ultra Hocſtadium illum inſequuntur Cæſariani, et longo ſatis intervallo. Talardus curru Marleburghi vectus, cuſtodiis committitur. Ipſe Marleburghus aciem obequitans, paucis ad reginam ſcribit

et

et oppidum ſpeculari et expugnare contendit. Militum præfectos, ſe atque ſuos in voluntariam deditionem permittere rogat per orcadum Comitem. Cunctantur, atque tempus ad deliberandum poſtulant galli: quo audito, Marleburghus pagum ſtatim militibus et tormentis circumdari jubet. Quo facto, iterum Blanſaium militum Gallorum præfectum periculi et officii monet, atque ad illum certos homines mittit, qui ei annuntiarent, cum jam tota acies fugæ conſilium cæpiſſet, ſe etiam debere ſuæ ſalutis rationem habere ex belli uſu, et, niſi arma deponerent, ſe ſtatim omnes ad unum ferro adigere velle. Gregarii jam milites, inclinata victoria, nihil de fama laborantes, manus tendere, deditionem ſignificare, et dejectis armis, ſigna ſua lacerantes mortem deprecari incipiunt. Quare, cum Clerembojus Gallico equitatui in oppido ante imperans, et rem inclinatam obſervans, ſalutem fuga quærens flumine ſubmerſus fuiſſet, Blanſaius per Dennovillum hortatus de deditione agit, eamque ſubſcribit, nulla alia conditione interpoſita, quam ut eorum vitæ et Sarcinis parceretur. Conceditur. Nox jam ſuberat. Galli integri ad XIII. millia arma illico deponunt, atque cuſtodiis firmis committuntur. Fœderati, Diei calore et continente labore defatigati in loco pugnæ ea nocte conſiſtere, atque capti arma occulta, ſi quæ habuerant, tradere jubentur, ne quis eorum violaretur. Fœderati ita animo ad pugnam erecti fuerant, ut nunc victores vix requiem capere poſſint: nec cuiquam facile eſt animi intentionem remittere. Præfecti tribunique militum in vigiliis erant, ne noctu ſubitum caſum ſubirent. Gregarii etiam, ſpoliorum cauſa omnia induſtrié exquirunt et ſcrutantur.

BATTLE *of* TENIER, *or* MALPLAQUET

GALLI non longe a Tanieribus et Malplachetto oppidis caſtra ponunt, quæ a dextra levaque ſylvis duræ et Blangiæ tegebantur: a tergo campos dumetis et ſepibus interſectos, ac fugæ commodos habebant. Illi etiam, animadverſo caſtrorum omni vitio, tota nocte in fronte munitiones proferunt. Hoc idem poſtero die, prima luce faciunt, biduumque in ea re conſumunt; dum fœderati, nulla re tentata, copias in unum contrahebant, aliaſque Tornaco ad caſtra

proficiſcentes expectabant. Iis igitur de cauſis, Gallos primo die non laceſſerant: quod a multis vehementiſſime improbatur. Fœderatorum caſtra ſiniſtrorſum protendebantur ad Lagnieres, dextrorſum ad Sartum, media vero acies ad Blairignes explicabatur. Marleburghus et Eugenius, adhibitis in conſilium Belgarum legatis illicò prælio decertare ſtatuunt. Hanc rem unius ex legatis Goſlingæ virtus adjuvabat: alii, ne militum ſanguine abuti viderentur, non faciles aſſentiebant. Qua inquint fiducia et opere et natura loci munitiſſima caſtra expugnare confiditis? Vicit tamen in concilio pro pugna ſententia, atque 12 die Septembris, imperatores prima luce exercitum in aciem perducunt, militeſque, obequitando ordines, omnibus rebus ad pugnam diſpoſitis, cohortantur. Quo facto, commota omnium voluntate, milites, eos uti temporis opportunitate, ſuamque fidem ac virtutem experiri rogant. Sublato igitur clamore, ac omnium tormentorum fulguratione, pugnæ ſignum datur. Tribus in locis concurritur, atque incredibili virtute utrinque res geritur. Argathelius dux primus, Britannos in dextera mediæ aciei per ſylvas in hoſtem induxit. Is, excepto prius hoſtium igne, in aggeres irruens, eos, ſimul atque hoſtem ſcindit et evertit: inhærenſque tergo fugientium qui ad ſecundos aggeres refugiebant, eos ibi protrudit, indeque repellit ad tertium aggerem, atque proſtratos obequitans ac per medios hoſtes volans, ſine mora, eorum aciem interſcindere, locumque pugnæ tenere non verebatur. Verum duobus aliis in locis fœderati repelluntur.

Iterum inexpectatè majori animo fœderati redeunt, atque in caſtrorum vallum impetum faciunt; quem ut tranſcenderent, cum nulla loci opportunitas data ipſis eſſet, virtute tandem et ſuperiorum pugnarum exercitatione id præſtant, hoſtemque ad ſecundum vallum pellunt. Pulſis, ubi cum ſui colligendi facultatem Germani reliquiſſent, Galli, integris viribus aucti, in pugnam ex vallo redeunt, iterumque miſcent. Sed cum robore pares Germanis non eſſent, atque duobus horis magna virtute acriter depugnaſſent, diuturnitate pugnæ Galli et vulneribus defatigati terga convertunt, ac locum Germanis cedunt. Acie nunc egreſſi in tertium vallum ſe conferunt ibique ſe reficiunt. Quo animadverſo, Eugenius, illicò locum defenſoribus nudatum occupat, Belgiſque in ſiniſtra laborantibus auxi-

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lium laturus accurrit, relictis equitibus qui ſuam aciem, ſi premeretur, ſuſtinerent. Hic loci jamdiu anceps pugna erat, quæ nec facile per ſe decerni poterat, quia pulſis, quod prope invicem fiebat, in aciem equitum tutus fuerat diu receptus.

FOEDERATORUM tormenta adverſos hoſtes proterebant, magnoque uſui erant hoc temporis veſtigio; nam globi tormentarii levi ictu Villarii genu vulnus infligebatur. Itaque is acie excedit. Belgarum pedites occidione veluti occiſi, fortiter adhuc in ſiniſtro cornu reſiſtebant; itaque pugnabant ut cum primi eorum cecidiſſent, proximi jacentibus inſiſterent. Marleburghus eò Vitherum ſubſidio mittit. Eugenius miram virtutem multitudine hoſtium pœne oppreſſam, atque Vitherum ab hoſte impeditum, cernens, eo cum expedita ſuorum manu, diſtrictis enſibus, per medios hoſtes in illorum ſuccurſum pervaſit. Eò perventus, equo in pedes deſiliit atque impetum in confertiſſimum hoſtium agmen facit; ſimulac Danici equitatus tres phalanges quæ ad id tempus quietæ loco ſe tenebant, in ſubſidiis poſt cornua locatæ, laborantibus ſubſidio Marleburghus eo ſubmittit. Horum adventus Belgas plurimum animo confirmavit, qui, facto impetu, vallum XII Pedum munitionis aſcenderunt: quo facto, initium victoriæ fœderatis oritur; hoſtium dextra a ſiniſtra excluditur, ingenſque ſtrages editur; atque Belgæ denſata ſuorum acie, hoſtes utrâque munitione dejectos terga vertere cogunt. Ægre nunc reſiſtitur, et acie nunc proſtrata, quodcunque addebatur Gallis ſubſidio, id terrorem et periculum augebat. Inde ad finitimam ſylvam ſe recipiunt ac ſuos veluti retexant. Iiſdem temporibus equitatus Britannus, ſimul atque Orcadum Comes, cum cohortibus quibuſdam in dextera ala procedens, tertios aggeres aggreditur, hoſteſque in Bleronis planicie conſiſtentes, per adverſas ſylvas premit. Sed, ex iniquitate loci accidit, ut aliquæ noſtrorum turmæ a Galli ſatellitibus turbarentur. Quo animadverſo, eo decurrit Marleburghus, nec longiore oratione ſuos cohortatus quam ut priſtinæ ſuæ virtutis memoriam retinerent, neque partam nunc victoriam deſererent: quo dicto, Virtenbergus ſuos colligit, atque ad impetum eaſdem reducit. Acriter etiam hic pugnatum erat. Tandem, commutata nunc pugnæ fortunâ, Galli univerſi terga vertunt, atque per minorem ſylvam ad peditatum plurimum attriti

refugiunt. Hoſtes, quoquoverſum nunc fugientes loco pugnæ cedunt. Fœderati hoſtium caſtris potiti, quæ tantis aggeribus latis, ſpeciem munitionis præbebant, XVIII cohortes mittunt ut ſylvas introſpicerent, quas cum vacuas hoſte comperiſſent, ſenſim procedunt. Ut in aperta loca pervenerant, ecce omnium fugientium aciem per campos Malbodium verſus retrocedentem, atque phalanges aliquas a tergo ſylvæ inſtructas conſpiciunt, ut quæ fugientium agmen clauderent.

Bufflerus ordine fugam tripartito inſtituerat. Fœderati, nulla inſigni clade illata fugientibus inhærent. Quaverenum uſque inequuntur. Fugientibus magno commodo erant ardennæ ſylvæ quæ longe lateque per Bellovacos protenduntur. Hoſtium alii Malbodium, alii Condeum et Valentinas magna celeritate contendunt. Tantus tamen terror illis noctu in itinere incidit, ut noctem Diei conjungerent, multis Malbodii relictis vulneratis. Quum nox ſuberat, Fœderati propter vulnera militum et propter ſepulturam mortuorum longius eos ſequi non potuerunt. Porro, omnia itinera obſideri, equitatumque facile noctu circumfundi poſſe ſciebant.

Villarius graviter genu vulneratus ad mediam pugnam acie exceſſit. Eugenio leve inflictum vulnus, eum non diutius morabatur quam faſcia obvolvi poſſit. Eo etiam Die, Dii periculorum comites Marleburghum incolumen ſervarunt, quemadmodum et Argathelium, cujus veſtis, pluribus ſcloporum globis transfixa dicitur, et multis in locis perforata: itemque Vebbii renes perfodiebantur, quo vulnere is diu laboravit. Præfecti cohortum Lalo, Pendergrafius, et Arundelius, et Rivetus, multique centuriones, omniumque ordinum evocati aliquot, plurimique viri fortes, eo die fortiter pugnando in prælio occidere. Cranſtonius militum tribunus, gloria Diis ſe, genuflexus, efferens, tormenti globo obtruncabatur.

Jacobus Cambellus Stariſii comitis locum tenens, ſingularis ſuæ virtutis utriuſque in conſpectu exercitus indicium dederat: namque is dum in ancipiti fuerat victoria, infeſtis ſignis cum ſuorum phalange in hoſtem ſe intulerat, adverſamque ſibi aciem ſecans, viam per medios hoſtes aperierat, eademque qua pervaſerat, hoſtes ſternendo, incolumis

lumis ad ſuos rediit. Hæc adoleſcentis audacia fœderatos non parum animo confirmavit, atque hoſtes ſpe minuit: illi enim hac re adeo perterriti erant ut eorum nemo poſthac lubens albis equis occurreret, nam iſtius coloris erant ſui. Goſlinga Belgarum legatus, præter partes ſibi ab ordinibus impoſitas, ſuorum agmina propulſa, deſideratis præfectis cohortum, iterum in aciem inferre, eo die ipſe viſus eſt, atque priſtinæ ſuæ virtutis indicia præclara edidit: quæ res illi à quibuſdam vitio vertebatur, quemadmodum et imperatoribus prælium commiſſum, quod aliæ legati, aliæ imperatoris ſint partes. Sed cum illi res ſucceſſiſſet, illius cùm virtus tùm prudentia militaris plurimum ab aliis collaudatur. In ea pugna cæſi fœderatorum ad vi millia annumerantur: vulnerati ad ix millia. Gallorum ad x millia vulnerati, cæſi ad vii millia; plures tamen deſiderabantur, namque transfugarum numerus ingens erat. Cruenta licet victoria eſſet, ex hominum tamen memoria, in hunc uſque diem, nec virtus in milite, nec imperium in ducibus magis emicuit quam in omnibus omnium nationum eo die copiis: Galli etiam victi omnium de ſe expectationem hac in pugna vicerant.

DEBATES *in the* SCOTCH PARLIAMENT, *and other Particulars relating to the* UNION.

MENSE Novembri, ut primum unionis faciendæ caput in comitiis recitatur, in patriæ cauſam deſcendens Hamiltonius, veteres Anglorum injurias luculentâ oratione commemorat, atque tempora fœdi Balioli, qui Anglo regni deditionem fecerat, eique in clientelam venerat, comitiis in memoriam revocat. Bruſſii magnanimitatem collaudat, qui non adeo cupidus regni erat, ut libertatem à majoribus traditam imminueret: porro quo priſtinam virtutem Scotorum excitaret, Bruſſios, Cambellos, Duglaſſios, complures etiam alias gentes patriæ ſtudio quondam claras nominatim appellat, ne cauſam patriæ labantis deſerant; et in hoc inſolentius volitans. " *Si quis*, inquit, *eſt cui potior ſit turpis in otio ſervitus, quam honeſto cum periculo libertas, iſtam, quam maxime mallet, fortunam amplectatur. Mihi autem, hujus imperii dignitas, quæ à majoribus per tot ſæcula ad nos defenſa manavit*

cum vita carior ſit, mihi defendenda erit, neque prius patriæ caritas, quam vita me relinquet." Si facta dictis ſuppeterent, Is uno die omnem rem, de qua tantæ contentiones erant, abſolviſſet, ſed non eo animo erat Hamiltonius, ut ad populum de imperio referatur. Variis de cauſis complures omnium ordinum viri à coalitione regnorum abhorrebant: clerus metu epiſcoporum in Angliâ; nobiles alii dominatus incitabantur cupiditate, alii ſucceſſionis in Anglia ſtabilitæ impediendæ ſtudio; provinciales formidine gravium tributorum, quæ Anglis imponuntur. Plebs vero ante alios non tam ratione, quam odio ducta, ab hoc negotio aliena erat, imperii enim nomen, et vetuſtas plurimum apud populum poteſt; quamvis illius, quod in Scotiâ reliquum eſſet, ab emigratione Jacobi VI. in Angliam, nil aliud eſſet, quam inanis nominis umbra, aut ſervitutis jugum, et regni ſimulacrum, cum ſibi imperium exinde eſſet paucorum dominatus, cui commoda reipublicæ ſuis neceſſitudinibus non ſemper potiora erant, ſibique imperata ab exteris ſæpe faciebant regni procuratores: ærarium tamen quodcunque fuerat, nobilium erat, quorum etiam fuit regni munera et magiſtratus inter ſe ſe per manus tradere, quamdiu imperium incolume, quod in comitiis Anandiæ Marchio eos edocuit, *Hoc vero ſemel amiſſo*, ait, *ſua nequicquam ſervent.* Quapropter in comitiis obteſtatur, ne ſummum imperium ſibi abrogarent. Omniaque fœdera, atque regni ſucceſſionem ultro Anglis Anandius offert. Marrius, Sefeldius, aliique complures, quibus majora clam depacta erant, quam quæ a Scotorum imperio incolumi expectari poſſint, in coalitionem deſcendunt. Pro unione etiam ſtabant Tuedalius, Montroſanus, marchiones; Roxburgus, Rothuſius, Haddintonius, comites; J. Cockburnus, Haddænus, aliique publicam utilitatem licet ſpecioſe præferentes, e publico negotio privatum emolumentum ſpectantes. Cum quibuſdam in Anglia conſilia communicant, et in Scotorum comitiis aiunt, *Britanniæ inſula una continenſque terra iiſdem cœli et ſoli beneficiis gaudet. Si legibus et lingua inter ſe differant incolæ, id advenarum non naturæ vitio tribuendum. Coactis in unum ſuperiorum temporum regnis, hoc ſolum nobis reliquum eſt, ut ſublato inani omni nomine, utraque gens communi ſocietatis et imperii vinculo conjungatur, et confirmetur. Quamvis multa iis eſſent cum Angliæ aula, majora tamen cum Gallis habemus, de quibus queri poſſint*, ideoque his difficillimis belli temporibus, Scotiam cum Anglia

juris publici vinculo prius conjungendam malint, quam utraque gens diſcordiâ civili Gallo in prædam veniat. Id temporis Scoti erant ex utraque parte fortes, bonique, qui nullis præmiorum ſordibus affecti ſententiam liberè dixerunt, neque ulla repreſentatione ab ea traduci nunc poſſunt: quare prorex de xx millibus lib. quæ ipſi ex ærario Angliæ annumerabantur, XII millia in ærarium, confecto unionis negotio, deferri curat, cum non haberet, cui daret. Nova res, reſtitutio æris publici poſt videbatur ipſis rationum publicarum in Britannia perquiſitoribus, aliiſque, qui in comitiis nihil perfici putant, quam utilis et commodi ratione prius habitâ: quin et prorex prenſationibus, pollicitationibus, ambitu, ſpe, minis, denique præmiis et pecuniâ, cum viris in Scotia ſenatoriis tunc ageret, nullus dubito, quemadmodum ſcriptores aliqui memoria prodiderunt: præſertim, cum Gallus regnorum conjunctioni reſtituiſſet, quo ad potuerit; Belgæ etiam, quibus tanti ſibi momenti conjunctio regnorum viſa eſt, ut eam impedire, paululo pecunia ſtatuerunt. Cum id ſibi negotii eos dare vidiſſet, A— C— Belgas multis dehortatur, certum tamen eſt, eos infeſtis oculis regnorum conjunctionem conſpexiſſe. Proregem igitur multimodis cum Scotis agere opportebat, cum non modo hæc obſtacula ſibi foris objecta, ſed et ſe domi invitis canibus venatum aditurum ſentiiſſet. Quod tantopere Scoti ſcriptores aliqui Galliæ factioni addicti de nobilium prenſationibus, præmiiſque à reginâ illis conceſſis exaggerarunt, id ego multum ambigo, cum calumniandi animos eos ſcripſiſſe conſtet. Porro uni Gl——nſii comiti omnibuſque id temporis rationum publicarum perquiſitoribus fidem, quam honorem tot claris viris derogare mallem. Utque in cauſâ Atholii una hirundo non facit ver, ſecundum eos, ita nec unius Glaſgoenſis teſtimonium fidem, in tantâ hominis impudentiâ, criminationi facere oportet: certum etiam eſt, perquiſitoris Scoti conſilium fuiſſe, ut homines nobiles in Scotia conſputaret, et quodcunque ſcripſerit mendatiunculis aſpergeret, ac ſi ipſe unus cauſam ſuſtentâſſet, totiuſque negotii pro æmulo conditor eſſet, apud quem omnium res geſtæ præ ſuis ſordent.

Sub id tempus, quo capita unionis ad ſenatum referebantur, Cunninghamius ab aulâ remuneratus, vir ſingularis audaciæ, et manu quam conſilio promptior, ad res novas in occidentalibus Scotiæ provinciis concitandas à Quenſberio inſtructus animum induxit, habitoque conſilio

cùm Gu. Cocherano, Geo. Locarto, motus concitare ſuſcepit. Huic conſilio temerario ſibi communicato, ſuffragari dicuntur Atholius, aliique hujus rei conſcii. Sed cùm dies concitationi dictus eſſet, Hamiltonius dux, ab omni ſeditione alienus, ad ſuos populares ſcripſit, ne quid iſtiuſmodi tentarent; quare cùm hominum armatorum ex provinciis ad VII. millia in unum ſe conferre deberent, non plures quingentis in armis comparent. Quâ re cognitâ, et cujus artibus concitatio et ſuſcepta et ſuppreſſa eſſet, Hamiltonius ſuſpectus tenetur, et apud ſuos male audit: ille vero, quo ſuſpicionem amoveret, hoc moderatius conſilium cùm ſuis iniit, ut ad provinciales honeſtiori loco natos, ſcriberent, ad Edinburgum conſtituto die populares clienteſque ut convenirent, quo proregi et reginæ etiam per literas oſtenderent, quantum Scoti à communione cùm Anglis abhorrebant. Hamiltonius, Atholius, Fletzerus hoc conſilium comprobant; ſed cùm dies veniſſet, multique viri præcipui ex provinciis Edinburgi conveniſſent, Hamiltonius illius conſenſionis homines edocet, nihil ſibi cùm illis fore ſin minus clauſulam petitioni adjicerent de ſucceſſione regni ſtabiliendâ ſecundùm Anglos, à quo maximè alieni erant: proinde moræ pertæſi provinciales domum ſe conferunt, Hamiltonii tergiverſationem, atque inconſtantiam ægre ferentes, qui toties illis fruſtrationes dediſſet. Poſthæc denuo Hamiltonius, cum ad XXII. caput, quod patricios ſpectabat, in comitiis ventum eſſet, ad colloquium cum iis venit, nunc extremum proponit, quæ viſa ſint, quo patriam, quemadmodum jactabat, perituram ſervarent. Inter illos igitur convenit, de interceſſione interponenda, quæ niſi à comitiis admittatur, illi, ſeceſſionem facturi, in ſenatum redire nolint: unum hoc Hamiltonius interceſſionis formulæ adjici iterum voluit, de ſtabilienda ſucceſſione ad exemplar Angliæ: huic Atholius ſe oppoſuiſſe auditur, *quia non oportet*. Hamiltonius de cujus inconſtantia longum eſt dicere, contrà inter ſuos pro clauſula contendit, *quia neceſſe eſt*, quo veluti prætextu, ſi quid gravius acciderit, cauſam ſuam in jus vocati, melius defenderent: ea tamen mente is in colloquio eſſe dicitur, ut ſeceſſione factâ ſtatim regni æmulum ad ſuum auxiliam advocarent, a quo ex multorum ſententia longè is aberat. Cùm dies interceſſioni, et obteſtationi dictus veniſſet, Hamiltonius dolore dentium tentatus, ac ſi conſtitutum ita habuiſſet, ſe à comitiis hac de cauſâ excuſat: victus tandem neceſſariorum precibus,

et

et interpellationibus iis ſenatui intervenit, verum is, facta clam conſentione cum Quenſberio, ſe interceſſurum ſuis negat: contentionibus igitur inter eos agebatur, donec temporis occaſio deeſſet, itaque XXII. caput, quod præcipuum erat, in comitiis ratum habetur. Quo facto multi obteſtantur, quia hoc non penes comitia, qui non jure rogatum, aliaque addunt, quæ huc referri non attinet.

BELHAVENUS, vir nobilis, et populari dicendi genere eloquens, habitâ in comitiis oratione, inconditis licet verbis, omnium tamen aures atque mentes in ſe convertit: is ejulans conqueritur acti temporis de Anglorum injuriis, de miſeriis regiminis, *nunc vero, quàm periculoſiſſima ſint tempora, utque degeneres ſint, Scotorum animi, Deos hominesque teſtatur: multum enim intereſt*, ait, *utrum gloria gentis imminuatur, an ſalus deſeratur. De ſalute omnium hodie actum eſt*, ait, *ſi rata rogatio erit, quæ non, quid regni interſit, ſed an regnum diutius foret, continet. Eheu, nec amiſſi regni deſiderium, ſpe veſtrorum commodorum, poſthac conſolabimini.* Multa quæ ſibi præſagiebat animus graviſſimis verbis effert, etiam oculos et animam in lachrymas effundens. *En Scotiam depopulatam! Edinburgum, quondam civitatem, curiis, aulâ, et nobilium frequentiâ, omniumque rerum affluentiâ florentem, poſthac deſertum et in orbitatem miſerè redactum! en aras jacentes, Deorum ſedes violatas, atque hanc urbem Ziona præſtantiſſimum domicilium ſcientiarum mœſtum et deſpectum, agros denique incultos, et vacuos! videor et inquit, mihi videre, Scotorum nobiles quondam viros, Londini ſub fornicibus in curiarum atriis, compitis, et foris deſpectos vagantes, ſuæ vitæ pertæſos, et quondam dignitatis, ſimulatque amiſſi regni memores. Advertite igitur, inquit, quæ labes, ac ruina, nunc ortæ, et alias orituræ, juventuti, infligitur, per plagam hodierno die regno inferendam. Omne reipublicæ vulnus ſanari poteſt, ſalvo imperio, verum, quod vobis hodie infligendum eſt, nulla medicina curari, cum poſthac nihil vobis, integrum, nihil reliquum erit.* Oculos etiam in juventutem nobilem, et quondam amicitia ſibi junctam conjiciens, *Et tu quoque mi fili, hoccine rerum et à te agitur, qui cum non dudum ſpes altera Scotiæ habebamini, ut et nunc Scotorum antiquiſſimum nomen per vos aboleatur*, &c. Hæc et hujuſmodi licet horridè, incultèque dixerat, adeo tamen enunciatè ſuas partes in ſenatu egit, ut Scoti illius et hujus diei ſemper meminerint; iſque non modo magni

rhetoris, ſed etiam veri vatis nomen apud Scotos habet. Hujus oratio re, multo magis quàm verbis à Roxburgo refutatur qui rebus ſuis conſulens pro conjunctione ſtabat. And. Fletſerus, ut qui patriam prius in libertatem vindicaret, bis ſe in vitæ diſcrimen intulerat, nunc vulnus inſanabile reipublicæ inferendum, et Scotiam veluti funere per ſuos elatam, cernens, hoc tempore extremo, in dicendo effervescit, reginæque miniſtros vehementer inſectatur, et exagitat, nihil res domeſticas, licet amplas faciens. Sunt qui illius vim eloquentiæ, etiam in inimicitiis gerendis virtutem, nimium efferbuiſſe, et cauſæ nocuiſſe dicant, ſed quid vetat filium in funere matris commoveri, aut civem ſortem in efferendam funere patriam, dolore graviter inuri, præſertim is qui reipublicæ commoda ſuis neceſſitudinibus ſemper potiora duxerat, mortemque pro patria toties oppetere non dubitaverat? Buchaniæ etiam comes, ejuſque patruus Jo. Areſkinus ſtrenuè pro patria contendebant, nihil penſi cum Galliæ factionis hominibus habentes: alii etiam pauci, quos patriæ caritas in officio tenuit, mori ſe mallent, quam deditioni regni, quæ communio ipſis viſa eſt, aſſentirentur. Scotorum licet alii, coalitioni regnorum æqui, alii iniqui fuerint, uti concionum voluntas, partium ſtudium eos ferebat, ſive Gallia, ſive Anglia id fuerat, omnes fere tamen ex animi ſententiâ ſuffragia tuliſſe audiuntur: quin denique aliqui ab aulâ decipiantur, aliqui donis remunerentur, in tantâ hominum frequentia, quorum quiſque ſuos manes patitur, pro humana ſortis imbellicitate, et vicinarum nationum conſuetudine, non inficias ibimus. Ex omni nobilitate maximè reprehendendi erant, homines quidam novi, qui clam certis cum Anglis, quædam ſibi vituperoſè depacta habebant, ut ipſi geminis honoribus in Britannia fulgerent.

DEBATES *in the* BRITISH PARLIAMENT *on a Charge of Corruption againſt the Lord Treaſurer the Earl of* GODOLPHIN.

INTER hæc in ſenatu Godolfini amici, qui nunc pauci erant, illius cauſam ſtrenuè agunt. Nec hos clamores in Godolfinum excitos alio ſpectare dicunt, quàm quo illius ſplendorem commacu-

larent adverſarii, quorum invidia et egeſtas ad omnes bonos et de republica in bello ſociali bene meritos infamandum, aiunt, compulerat. St. Johnius auræ popularis cupidus, atque ab aliis dicta ægre ferens, reſpondet. *Mirabitur forte quis, quod cives tam forti et magno animo invenirentur, qui auderent ſe et ſalutem pro labante regni ſtatu et religione in diſcrimen nunc offerre; ſed majus mirum eſt, quenquam in his ædibus pecuniæ publicæ poſtulationi, atque rationibus reddendis obſiſtere audere, quo neglecto, imperium civitaſque ſtare non poſſit. Nihil puto unquam tam populare ad populi Angl. aures accidiſſe, quam reipublicæ reddere rationes. Quis his amicus eſſe poſſit, qui vel non reipublicæ inimicus eſt, ærariumque vel non ipſe compilaret. Sic ſim incitatus, ut eos qui rempublicam belli tempore adminiſtrarunt, non minus contemnerem quam odiſſem, tamen reatos potius quam deſpectos vellem dimittere. In his cum multa indigna ſunt, tum nihil minus ferendum, quam quod non modo per fraudatores latroneſque fæneratoreſque ſuos, non per homines egeſtate et ſcelere perditos omniumque gentium ſpoliis ornatos, ſed per viros bonos ac miſericordes periculum nobis et eccleſiæ inferre nunc conentur; et quos vectigalibus, direptionibus, vi, manu, injuriis et copiis delere ante non potuerunt, hos immo vos quotquot adeſtis veſtra autoritate, veſtra religione, veſtris ſententiis, ſe nunc oppreſſuros arbitrantur.*

Robertus Walpolius, pretermiſſis injuriis, et religione, quam St. Johnius ubique gentium ſtupris polluerat, ad rem pecuniariam et rationes de quibus nunc in ſenatu quæritur, loquutus, reſpondet; rationes publicæ pecuniæ diſerte et ſtrictim explicat, eaſque chyrographis, tabellis et teſtibus probat; cumque invidiam poſtulationis ex temporum iniquitate conflatam demonſtraſſet, *ſi*, inquit, *is accuſatur in quo non modo culpa nulla, ſed ne ſuſpicio quidem potuit conſiſtere, et quem qui proximè locutus eſt, nec metuere poteſt, nec odiſſe debet, Cavete, ne ſumma reipublicæ in hujus periculo tentetur. Nemo non videt conciones mercede conductas, et populum Angl. qui in hoſtes etiam lenis habetur, hoc tempore domeſtica crudelitate laborare. Vos convenit, ex quibus rebus reſpublica maximè laborat, iis in primis mederi, et niſi hoc judicium a vobis rejiciatis et aſpernemini, videte, quem in locum reſpublica et hæc civitas perventura ſit.*

LANUSIUS ſecundum eum locutus ad hæc: *Æquum eſt reddere rationes; reddimus: bis ſolvere, iniquum eſt: bis ſolvere et totius poſtulari moleſtum eſt. Jure in belli uſus erogatur pecunia ex ærario; ſi in claſſem non erogatur, quod non habetur, quod jus violatur? Tantum erogatur quam civibus imperatur. At eſt æris alieni cumulus. Eſto. An hoc nobis imputandum quibus ſatis æris non commiſſum fuit ad id diſſolvendum, nec vobis objectandum, qui vim pecuniæ civibus non imperaſtis? Qui quidquam in republica noverint, norunt nos pecuniam publicam in rem noſtram convertere nunquam vel velle vel poſſe, præſertim eam quam nunquam attigimus, nuſquam tractavimus. Nec accepimus quod non licebat, nec remiſimus quod non oportebat.*

AD omnia utcunque allata alter loquitur: *Accuſatores et eſſe et in omni ſocietate alere utile eſt, ut metu contineatur audacia et habendi cupiditas: verum tamen ita utile eſt, ne illudamur ab accuſatoribus, neque cujuſquam innocentia ac vitæ integritas opprimatur. Nos leones alimus. Romani cibaria anſeribus in Capitolio locabant: ibi et canes alebantur publico ſumptu, ut ſignificent, ſi fures venerint. Et ſi fures internoſcere non poſſunt, quia beſtiæ ſunt, quia tamen ſuſpicioſum, id optimum factu iis viſum eſt, ut in eam potius partem peccent, quæ eſt cautior, quam ut Capitolium atque ipſa civitas proditione caperetur. Alii noſtrum canes ſunt, alii anſeres qui tantumodo clamant, nocere nequeunt: canes vero et latrare et nocere poſſunt: iis crura Romæ ſuffringebantur, ne innocentes morderent, tum cum ſuſpicio nulla eſſet. Cibaria etiam noſtris accuſatoribus præbantur: canibus etiam crura ſuffringenda ſunt, ne aliquando acres optimum quemque civem mordeant. Plurima adminiſtrorum vitia ſunt: facile credo. Sed qui alium ſceleris publici argueret, eum enumerare omnes cauſas oportebat, et explicare omnia vitia et peccata adminiſtrantium, quibus patres, populus Angl. et univerſus ſenatus, potuerit inducere animum, ut caritatem et patriam vinceret, et cives immo homines nos eſſe oblivi ſceremur.*

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